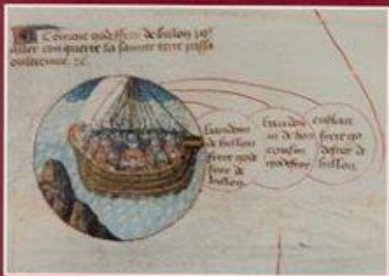


**I** NTERNATIONAL  
**M** EDIEVAL  
**R** ESEARCH, 3



**F**rom Clermont to Jerusalem

The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095 - 1500

BREPOLS

Edited by Alan V. Murray

# International Medieval Research

Selected Proceedings of the  
International Medieval Congress  
University of Leeds

## *Volumes Published*

- 1: **Across the Mediterranean Frontiers:** Trade, Politics and Religion, 650-1450. Edited by Dionisius A. Agius and Ian Richard Netton, 1997, xiv-422 p.
- 2: **Dictionaries of Medieval Germanic Languages:** A Survey of Current Lexicographical Projects. Edited by K.H. van Dalen-Oskam, K.A.C. Depuydt, W.J.J. Pijnenburg and T.H. Schoonheim, 1997, viii-197 p.

## *Forthcoming Volumes*

- 4: **The Community, the Family and the Saint:** Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Edited by Joyce M. Hill and Mary Swan.
- 5: **Men and Women Religious and their Spheres of Influence in Medieval Society.** Edited by Joan Greatrex.

# From Clermont to Jerusalem

International Medieval Research  
Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress  
University of Leeds

---

Academic Editorial Board  
Simon Forde, Joyce Hill, Luc Jocqué

Production Manager  
Amanda Banton

International Medieval Research

## **From Clermont to Jerusalem**

**The Crusades and Crusader Societies  
1095-1500**

Selected Proceedings of the  
International Medieval Congress  
University of Leeds  
10-13 July 1995

edited by  
**Alan V. Murray**

Turnhout, Brepols  
1998

Articles appearing in this volume are indexed in  
“International Medieval Bibliography”

© 1998 – BREPOLS

Printed in Belgium

D/1998/0095/7

ISBN 2-503-50667-4

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system  
or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,  
recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

# Contents

Preface .....	vii
Notes on Authors .....	ix
Introduction .....	xiii
Abbreviations .....	xxii

## I THE IDEA OF CRUSADING

<i>La Croisade: l'évolution des conceptions et des stratégies</i> Jean Richard .....	3
---	---

## II THE FIRST CRUSADE AND ITS SOURCES

<i>The Use of the Anonymous Gesta Francorum in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade</i> John France .....	29
<i>Preacher of the First Crusade? Robert of Arbrissel after the Council of Clermont</i> J. M. B. Porter .....	43
<i>Albert of Aachen Reappraised</i> Susan Edgington .....	55
<i>Albert of Aachen and the Crusade of 1101</i> Alec Mulinder .....	69

## III THE KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

<i>Daimbert of Pisa, the Domus Godefridi and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem</i> Alan V. Murray .....	81
<i>Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule</i> Daniella Talmon-Heller .....	103
<i>Baldwin the Leper as War Leader</i> Bernard Hamilton .....	119
<i>The Cyclical Views of History in Late Thirteenth-Century Acre</i> Aryeh Grabois .....	131
<i>Babylon and Jerusalem: The Fall of Acre 1291-1995</i> Sylvia Schein .....	141

#### IV FRANKS, SLAVS AND GREEKS

<i>Slavonia and Beyond: The Gate to a Different World in the Perception of Crusaders (c. 1104-c. 1208)</i>	
Annetta Ilieva (†) and Mitko Delev .....	153
<i>Castles and Seigneurial Influence in Latin Greece</i>	
Peter Lock .....	173
<i>Fortifications and Internal Security in the Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1426</i>	
Kristian Molin .....	187

#### V THE DIVERSIFICATION OF THE CRUSADE

<i>The Military Orders and the Kings of England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries</i>	
Helen Nicholson .....	203
<i>Commutation of Crusade Vows: Some Examples from the English Midlands</i>	
Michael R. Evans .....	219
<i>“Nowhere was the Fragility of their Sex Apparent”: Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade Chronicles</i>	
Rasa Mazeika .....	229

#### VI BIBLIOGRAPHY

<i>The Crusades in Leeds University Library’s Genealogical History Roll</i>	
Oliver Pickering .....	251
<i>Bibliography of the First Crusade</i>	
Alan V. Murray .....	267
Index .....	311



## Preface

The essays published here are based on papers originally presented at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, 10-13 July 1995. The success of the sessions on the Crusades owed a great deal to the efficiency and dedication of the Congress staff, as well as those who chaired the papers, of whom Prof. Benjamin Kedar and Prof. Norman Housley deserve special thanks. I would also like to thank Dr Sue Clarke for assistance in collecting the papers and corresponding with authors, and Mr Alec McAllister for advice and help in producing special fonts. Above all, thanks are due to Amanda Banton for her efficient processing of the entire volume. Finally, I am grateful to Leeds University Library for permission to reproduce the miniature from MS. Brotherton Collection 100 which forms the cover illustration.

A.V.M.



## Notes on Authors

**Mitko Delev** is a doctoral student at the History Department of the University of Sofia. The topic of his thesis is the *Graecus perfidus* myth, particularly in the age of the first four crusades. Another joint article with Annetta Ilieva appeared in *Autour de la Première Croisade* (1996).

**Susan Edgington** is Senior Lecturer at Huntingdonshire Regional College. Besides her major commitment to producing an edition and translation of the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen, she is currently working on the twelfth-century hospital of the Knights of St John in Jerusalem.

**Michael Evans** recently completed a doctoral thesis at the University of Nottingham, entitled, "Crusades and Society in the English Midlands, c. 1160-1307". He is currently carrying out research on gender and the crusades.

**John France** is Senior Lecturer in the History Department of the University of Wales Swansea, and writes on warfare and crusading. He is the author of *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (1994).

**Aryeh Grabois** is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Haifa. After the completion of his doctoral dissertation (1963), he researched and taught European and crusading history, emphasising its social and intellectual aspects. He is currently engaged in a project on medieval pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

**Bernard Hamilton** is Professor Emeritus of Crusading History at the University of Nottingham. Among his publications are *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (1980), and he has co-edited with C. F. Beckingham *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes* (1996). He is currently writing a study of the reign of Baldwin IV of Jerusalem.

**Annetta Ilieva** taught at the University of Sofia (1984-94), and the American University in Bulgaria (1994-95). Her main field of interest was the age of the Latin domination in Greece and Cyprus (1204-1571); she

published a number of articles and a book dealing with various aspects of the *Frankokratia* in these lands. She died in August 1997.

**Peter Lock** is Head of the Department of Historical Studies at the University College of Ripon and York St. John, York. He has written many articles on medieval Greece after the Fourth Crusade and has published *The Franks in the Aegean* (1995), and with Guy Sanders has edited *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (1996). He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

**Rasa Mazeika** is a Canadian museum curator and archivist who also lectures at the University of Klaipeda (Lithuania). Recent publications include an article on Lithuanian baptism negotiations for *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, edited by James Muldoon (1997), and an analysis of Grand Duke Gediminas' letters to Hansa cities for *Ankstyviausieji lietuviu literatūros paminklai* (1997).

**Kristian Molin** is a part-time medieval history lecturer at Chaucer College, University of Kent at Canterbury. He recently completed a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Leeds on the role of fortifications in the military and political history of the crusader states and the Levant between 1187 and 1380.

**Alec Mulinder** is an Assistant Keeper at the Public Record Office in London. He gained his Ph.D. degree from the University of Wales Swansea in 1997, and is currently preparing his thesis for publication.

**Alan V. Murray** is editor of the *International Medieval Bibliography* and also teaches medieval history at the University of Leeds. He has published numerous articles on the political history and prosopography of the early crusader states, as well as on medieval German literature, and co-edited *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (1995).

**Helen Nicholson** is Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Wales, Cardiff. Her main research interest is the military orders. She has published *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291* (1993), and *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi"* (1997).

**Oliver Pickering** is Senior Assistant Librarian and Associate Lecturer in English at the University of Leeds. He has published widely in the field of medieval English, having most recently edited a new collection of essays, *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry* (D. S. Brewer, 1997). Due for publication in 1998 is a *Handlist of Middle English Prose in Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library*, compiled jointly with Veronica O'Mara. His principal research interests are in Middle English poetry and manuscript studies.

**J. M. B. Porter** wrote his essay whilst a doctoral student of Professor Bernard Hamilton at the University of Nottingham; his Ph.D. was awarded in 1997. A related article, "Fontevrault looks back at her founder: reform and the three attempts to canonise Robert of Arbrissel" has been published in *The Church Retrospective: Depictions and Interpretations (Studies in Church History)*, edited by R. N. Swanson (1997).

**Jean Richard**, formerly Professor at the University of Dijon, is a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and past president of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. His main work in this field concerns the crusader states, especially the Kingdom of Cyprus, and the relations between the Mongol empire and the West; he recently published an *Histoire des Croisades* (1996).

**Sylvia Schein** is Senior Lecturer in the Department of General History at the University of Haifa. Her fields of research are the crusades, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and medieval women. Among her publications are *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy and the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314* (1991), and *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period. Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois*, co-edited with Michael Goodich and Sophia Menache (1995).

**Daniella Talmon-Heller** teaches at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, where she is working on a doctoral thesis entitled "Religion and society in Syria under the Ayyubids". She also participates in the preparation of a course on the history of Islam, for the Israeli Open University.



## Introduction

The year 1995 saw the nine-hundredth anniversary of the Council of Clermont at which Pope Urban II proclaimed the First Crusade. The crusade itself was the subject of several international academic conferences in 1995 and 1996.<sup>1</sup> The International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds decided to mark the anniversary by featuring the crusades as its special theme for 1995, focusing not only on the First Crusade itself, but also the wider legacy of the crusading movement throughout the Middle Ages, and the societies established by the crusades on the periphery of Latin Christendom. Papers on the crusades were given by scholars from the United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Germany, Israel, the United Arab Emirates and the United States. Keynote lectures were given by Prof. Jean Richard (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) and Prof. Jonathan Riley-Smith (University of Cambridge).

The essays gathered in this volume are a selection of the papers presented at the Leeds Congress, along with two specially commissioned studies.<sup>2</sup> They illustrate the breadth and diversity of the crusading movement and the societies founded by it in the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece and the Baltic. In Part I, Jean Richard provides a magisterial *tour d'horizon* of the grand strategies

<sup>1</sup> For the proceedings of these conferences, see *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Collège de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996); *Der Erste Kreuzzug und seine Folgen: Die Verfolgung von Juden im Rheinland* (Düsseldorf, 1996); *The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Riley-Smith's keynote lecture addressed the question, "How revolutionary was the call to crusade in 1095?". Many of the ideas presented therein are reflected in his recent monograph, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997).

of the crusades to the Holy Land from their origins up to the fourteenth century (pp. 3-25). He concludes that the initial conception of the crusade was an attempt to assist the Christians of the East against the Turks, with the restoration of the Christian faith in the Holy Places as a secondary aim. Yet the conquests of the First Crusade meant that it was necessary to maintain military forces in the Middle East, who in the twelfth century regularly secured the co-operation of European pilgrims in the defence of the newly-acquired territories. The loss of the Holy Places in 1187 required the sending of large military forces, particularly against Egypt, which came to be identified as the key to the recovery of Jerusalem, whether via military success or by negotiation. Yet after the failure of St. Louis's crusade and the appearance of the Mongols in the Middle East in the thirteenth century, a major change of strategy occurred. The optimistic but ultimately illusory hopes of an alliance with this eastern empire produced a series of plans for "general crossings" in which a grand coalition of westerners, Latins of the East, Armenians and Mongols would co-operate in the recovery of the Holy Land. Prof. Richard's conclusions that the crusades had relatively limited aims of defence or recovery provide an important corrective to the widespread popular perception of the crusades as imperialistic wars fought by Christendom against the Muslim world.

The studies in Part II concern the origins and course of the First Crusade, from the council of Clermont in 1095 to the ill-fated expeditions of 1101. J. M. B. Porter provides a case-study of the preacher Robert of Arbrissel during the period after the council of Clermont (pp. 43-53). Many scholars have assumed that Urban II commissioned Robert to preach the crusade, but Porter argues that there is no contemporary evidence to support this claim. Rather, Robert's preaching should be seen as part of Urban's drive for church reform. It is striking that the remainder of the essays in this section are assessments or re-evaluations of narrative sources of the crusade. This is partly a reflection of the large number of such sources which have survived, and their textual relationships. John France deals with the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the other works which it influenced (pp. 29-42). His contention is that the wide availability of the *Gesta* in the twelfth century has led to it being wrongly overvalued as representing the "normal" account of



the First Crusade, whereas the other works of what he terms the “*Gesta* family”, which have been frequently dismissed as being derivative, contain important information which makes them significant in their own right, the *Historia Belli Sacri* being a notable case in point. It is to be hoped that France’s arguments may encourage scholars to produce new editions of some of these lesser-used sources.

France’s study is followed by two papers on the German chronicler Albert of Aachen. Susan Edgington is the leading authority on Albert, and her forthcoming edition and translation of the *Historia* are eagerly awaited by the scholarly community. Here she gives an entertaining account of the characteristics and value of this source, stressing his independence from the *Gesta* family and the two other “favourite” narratives of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres (pp. 55-67). Another important facet of Albert’s work is his evidence on the crusading expeditions of 1101, which are studied by Alec Mulinder in connection with the problematic subject of the numbers of crusading armies (pp. 69-77). Historians have long doubted the vast figures given by western narrative sources for the armies of the First Crusade, and even more so for their Muslim opponents. Yet the chroniclers often give less inflated figures for casualties and particular tactical formations, and a close analysis of such usages may prove rewarding, especially since some sources have a tendency to use figures in a categorising fashion.<sup>3</sup> Mulinder concludes that while most chroniclers have a tendency to exaggerate, Albert of Aachen provides relatively sober and conservative estimates of numbers, a finding which backs up Edgington’s assessments of his value.

The essays in Part III concern the major state established by the First Crusade in the Middle East, the kingdom of Jerusalem, with studies both on its twelfth-century heyday and on its final days and ultimate destruction by the Mamlūks in 1291. My own essay

<sup>3</sup> On the question of numbers in the First Crusade, see most recently Jean Flori, “Un problème de méthodologie: la valeur des nombres chez les chroniqueurs du Moyen Age. A propos des effectifs de la Première Croisade”, *Le Moyen Age* 99 (1993), 399-422, and John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 122-42.

(pp. 81-102) examines the crucial transition between the initial year of the Frankish settlement, with its ill-defined and shifting constitutional arrangements, and the accession of Baldwin I, which saw the establishment of the hereditary monarchy which would have been familiar to the political classes of western Europe. On the death of the first Latin ruler, Godfrey of Bouillon, in July 1100, knights of his household knights seized the citadel of Jerusalem and summoned his brother Baldwin to succeed to Godfrey's inheritance. Many historians have assumed that Godfrey had made far-reaching temporal concessions to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert of Pisa, and that the actions of the *domus Godefridi* were in defiance of agreed constitutional settlements. I argue that this interpretation is derived from the questionable testimony of the chronicler William of Tyre. Contemporary narrative and documentary sources indicate that Baldwin had been recognised as Godfrey's heir before the crusade, and that the coup d'état of August 1100 was actually an attempt to effect a designated dynastic succession.

While several of the studies in this volume are witness to the considerable work being carried out on the western historiography of the crusades, the same is by no means true for eastern sources. Carole Hillenbrand has highlighted how much Arabic material remains to be exploited, and has identified a variety of promising texts.<sup>4</sup> Of course, few western historians of the crusades have the requisite linguistic knowledge, and thus the majority are obliged to rely on those works for which translations into western languages (and often only partial translations at that) exist. A further problem is that western historians have tended to focus on sources which are generically familiar to them, notably narrative histories, to the exclusion of much potentially illuminating material which may be scattered in diverse works such as encyclopaedias, geographical treatises, biographies and so on. An excellent example of what Arabic sources can reveal is provided by the study by Daniella

<sup>4</sup> Carole Hillenbrand, "The First Crusade: The Muslim Perspective", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 130-41; Hillenbrand, "Jihad Propaganda in Syria from the Time of the First Crusade until the Death of Zengi: The Evidence of Monumental Inscriptions", in *The Frankish Wars and their Influence on Palestine*, ed. Roger Heacock and Khalil Athamina (Birzeit, 1994), pp. 60-69.

Talmon-Heller (pp. 103-17). She focuses on a hagiographical dictionary by the Arab writer *Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī* which survives in a thirteenth-century Damascus manuscript. This source offers valuable insights into one of the least known social groups of the kingdom, its Muslim rural population, and provides an important corrective to remarks of *Usāma ibn Munqidh* and *Ibn Jubayr* which have been repeatedly drawn on (and possibly over-interpreted) by modern scholars. It provides a wealth of circumstantial detail about the religious practices of this group, its womenfolk, and its relationships with the Franks. Most strikingly, it reveals a community which, as Talmon-Heller argues, "was well-connected to Islam and to the wider Muslim world and its trends".

Bernard Hamilton contributes a study of the military career of Baldwin IV of Jerusalem (pp. 119-30). The Leper King reigned at a time when Saladin had unified much of the Muslim world and was regularly able to mount serious invasions of the Latin kingdom. Baldwin's personal predicament was that while he became progressively debilitated by his leprosy, the complex and shifting rivalries of the Frankish political classes meant that he could not afford to delegate his powers as commander-in-chief.<sup>5</sup> Hamilton's study demonstrates how the king's exertions up to the final year of his life made a major contribution to the security of the kingdom: none of its territory was lost as long as he lived.

Yet the energetic reign of the Leper King merely staved off the Ayyubid onslaught. After the defeat of the Franks at the Horns of Hattin in 1187 the Holy City and the interior were lost. What still claimed to be the "kingdom of Jerusalem" survived as a coastal strip with its capital at the port of Acre, finally succumbing to the army of the Mamlūks in 1291. The two remaining studies in this section show how the final period of the kingdom was interpreted in both contemporary and modern historiographical exegesis. Aryeh

<sup>5</sup> The long accepted notions of two factions consisting of native barons and "newcomers" respectively have recently been challenged by Peter Edbury, "Propaganda and Faction in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Background to Hattin", in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), pp. 173-89.

Grabois shows how two groups of scholars at Acre, Jewish exegetes and Christian mendicants, were independently and profoundly affected by a sense of "last days" to meditate on how the governance of the Holy Land in their own time fitted into history (pp. 131-39). In particular, the Jewish exegete Nissim of Marseilles and the Franciscan Fidenzio of Padua adopted similar but distinct cyclical views of history adapted from the model of the week of Creation, in which the six working days represented the profane past and present, while the seventh offered eschatological hope to their respective religious communities.

The fall of Acre in May 1291 came to be seen by Christian writers as a disaster on a par with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and it was thus inevitable that contemporaries would struggle to come up with explanations which would make sense of the loss.<sup>6</sup> Sylvia Schein traces a historiographical stereotype of the fall of Acre (pp. 141-50), showing how as early as the fourteenth century a view had formed which ascribed the disaster to the moral corruption and petty political jealousies of the rump kingdom. This interpretation flourished, emerging again in the largely moralistic and judgemental views of influential historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Part IV brings together studies which deal with the relationship between crusaders, historians and settlers from the Latin world on the one hand, and the cultures of Greeks and Slavs on the others. In a detailed piece of detective work, Annetta Ilieva and Mitko Delev investigate historiographical idiosyncracies linking two of the most problematic events in the relationship between East and West: the First and Fourth Crusades (pp. 153-71).<sup>7</sup> Their starting point is

<sup>6</sup> For the battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem, for example, see Penny J. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)", *Al-Masāq* 6 (1993), 9-39.

<sup>7</sup> Annetta Ilieva died at the tragically early age of thirty-seven, while work on this volume was still in progress. She produced innovative and thoughtful work on the crusades, particularly on Frankish Greece. It is therefore especially welcome that her Bulgarian colleagues are planning to publish a collection of her articles, as well as her book, *The Chronicles of the Morea, of Leontios, and of the Tocco*.

one of the most contentious episodes of the Fourth Crusade and its ultimate diversion, the siege and capture of the Christian city of Zara in Dalmatia in 1202. A hitherto overlooked question is why one of our main sources for these events, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, chooses to locate the city "en Esclavonie". The authors conclude that he drew on western historiographical traditions which associated the names *Sclavonia* and *Esclavonie* with barbarity, and that he purposely employed this negative association in order to counter Innocent III's claims that Zara and its inhabitants were Christian and to justify the crusaders' treatment of the city. These conclusions underline the apologetic character of Villehardouin's work, suggesting that historians need to approach the memoirs of the Marshal of Champagne and Romania with rather more scepticism than has often been the case.<sup>8</sup>

The remainder of this section comprises two complementary studies of the role of castles in Frankish Greece and Cyprus respectively. Peter Lock considers castles as expressions of seigniorial lordship in the Morea and central Greece (pp. 173-86), arguing that the display and storage of wealth were the primary purposes of these fortifications. Kristian Molin makes the case that the apparent tranquillity of Frankish Cyprus between 1191 and 1426 was an illusion (pp. 187-99). The native Cypriots harboured great resentment towards their Latin masters, and the uprisings of 1191 and 1192 meant that the Franks were aware of the ever-present possibility of violent rebellion from their subject population. Molin argues that the constructions of the Franks were designed to counter this internal threat rather than an external one, and that the absence of another uprising until 1426 is testimony to the effectiveness of their fortification policy.

Part V comprises essays dealing with the diversification of crusading, both in forms of expression and theatres of activity. The first two of them relate to the changing nature of the crusading experience in England, examining two of the most important institutions to emerge from the crusades, the military orders and the

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the remarks by Margaret Shaw in her widely used translation, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1963), pp. 11-16.

crusading vow. The military and charitable activities of orders such as the Hospitallers and Templars have been well studied - indeed these dual functions are reflected in the title of one of the most important recent academic conferences.<sup>9</sup> In her study of English royal patronage of these two orders, Helen Nicholson highlights a further important activity (pp. 203-218). Drawing on administrative records, she demonstrates how Templars and Hospitallers performed not only religious, but also administrative and diplomatic services in return for financial patronage. These activities, in which the orders in England seemed to function almost as an arm of secular government, are in some ways reminiscent of the role played by the Teutonic Order under its Grand Master Hermann von Salza during the reign of the Emperor Frederick II.

One of the major contributions of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century canonists to the ideology of the crusade was the progressive definition of the crusading vow, in particular clarification of the circumstances in which it might be commuted. The case study by Michael Evans of commutation in the English Midlands shows what can be achieved by examining regional evidence, even that relating to a country which was by no means at the forefront of crusading (pp. 219-28). The range of individual cases he adduces demonstrates both the concerns of those organising crusades, as well as some quite surprising social effects of commutation.

The final essay in this section takes us to what has been aptly described as “the interminable crusade”:<sup>10</sup> the long and relentless struggle of the Teutonic Order and the Sword Brothers against those Baltic peoples who were reluctant to abandon their ancestral religious practices for the Roman faith. In a fascinating account which takes in divine and diabolic interventions as well as mud-wrestling women, Rasa Mazeika analyses stories about “virile” female fighters in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century crusade chronicles from Prussia and Livonia (pp. 229-48). She argues that many such stories have no obvious literary antecedents, and that

<sup>9</sup> *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525* (London, 1980), p. 132.

they are probably a true indication of conditions on a frontier between martial paganism and martial Christianity, where both men and women were obliged to demonstrate virile qualities, and even brutality, as occasion demanded.

The final section, Part VI, unites medieval and modern bibliography of the crusades. My own contribution is a classified bibliography of the First Crusade, which is intended to serve as a resource for teachers and researchers. Finally; in a specially commissioned study, Oliver Pickering presents a detailed physical description of the Leeds University genealogical history roll, Brotherton Collection MS. 100 (pp. 251-66). He goes on to examine its depiction of the crusades, concluding that the narrative is relatively accurate historically, despite abridgements and textual corruptions, and interestingly, that it views the crusades primarily in terms of the history of the Latin kingdom.

The papers in this volume demonstrate the crusading movement's capacity for innovation as well as its innate conservatism. In particular, Parts IV and V give important insights into the new theatres of crusading opened up in Greece and the Baltic, and show the adaptability of crusading institutions such as the military orders and the vow. Yet they also show how crusaders in the later Middle Ages saw themselves as acting in traditions going back to the end of the eleventh century: the frescoes of the First Crusade in the castle of Thebes in Greece, built in the 1230s (Lock), the term *Saracens* applied by the Teutonic Knights to their enemies in the Baltic region (Mazeika), and the prominence afforded to the kingdom of Jerusalem in the history rolls commissioned by wealthy late fifteenth-century French patrons (Pickering). Thus, both the detail as well as the larger themes of this volume are testimony to the enduring influence of the movement initiated by Urban II in 1095.

*Alan V. Murray*

## Abbreviations

- AA Albert of Aachen, *Albert Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ. 4: 265-713.
- AOL *Archives de l'Orient latin*.
- BD Baldric of Dol, *Baldrici episcopi Dolensis Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ. 4: 1-111.
- FC Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).
- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962).
- GN Guibert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC Occ. 4: 113-263.
- MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio).
- PL Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64).
- RA Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969).
- RC Radulph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ. 3: 587-716.
- RHC Recueil des historiens des croisades, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1841-1906).  
Arm. Documents arméniens, 2 vols (1869-1906).  
Occ. Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols (1844-95).  
Or. Historiens orientaux, 2 vols (1872-1906).



- RM Robert the Monk, *Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolymitana*, RHC Occ. 3: 717-882.
- ROL *Revue de l'Orient latin*.
- RS Rolls Series: *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1858-96).
- SRP *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, ed. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke, 5 vols (Leipzig, 1861-74).
- WT William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi Chronicon* [Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*], ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986).







# La Croisade

## **l'évolution des conceptions et des stratégies**

Jean Richard

Une des questions qui se posent aux historiens comme au grand public à propos des croisades est celle-ci: ce phénomène majeur de l'histoire européenne est-il resté identique à lui-même depuis le moment où Urbain II a annoncé la croisade jusqu'à la disparition des Etats latins d'Orient et même au-delà? La réponse à cette question n'est évidemment pas la même selon qu'on se place au plan de la spiritualité, de l'ecclésiologie, des mentalités populaires ou des politiques des souverains; et l'on ne saurait réaliser une synthèse de toutes ces perspectives.

Il paraît aujourd'hui certain que les grands traits de la future croisade se sont dessinés dès 1074, quand le pape Grégoire VII définit son "projet oriental". Il entendait répondre à l'appel des chrétiens orientaux confrontés à l'invasion des Turcs, qui mettait l'empire byzantin en péril et qui avait chassé jusqu'en Occident les habitants de l'Arménie. Grégoire VII associait à la perspective d'une expédition celle d'un pèlerinage qui aurait conduit les participants (et lui-même) au Saint Sépulcre.

Ce sont ces éléments qu'on retrouve dans l'appel d'Urbain II.<sup>1</sup> Nous ne saurions nous prononcer sur le contenu du message que les

<sup>1</sup> Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's Crusading Plans of 1074", dans *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*

envoyés d'Alexis I ont apporté au pape lors du concile de Plaisance, non plus que sur le processus de l'élaboration du projet qu'Urbain allait dévoiler à Clermont, sept mois plus tard.<sup>2</sup>

Il ne faut cependant pas perdre de vue que le pape a prononcé son appel à la fin d'un concile consacré à la réforme de l'Eglise et à la restructuration du monde chrétien. Et qu'il paraît assurer qu'il a associé cet appel à un élargissement du mouvement de paix qui, depuis un siècle, s'efforçait d'introduire en Occident, la notion du devoir incombant aux *bellatores* (ceux qui disposaient de la force des armes, seigneurs et chevaliers) de protéger les *inermes* (ceux qui ne disposaient pas de la même puissance).<sup>3</sup> Le pape invitait les premiers à étendre la "paix", c'est à dire l'ordre voulu par Dieu, en Orient, là où les chrétiens orientaux souffraient de l'oppression des infidèles. Et il est assuré que ces chrétiens étaient en premier lieu les sujets de l'empereur byzantin, lui-même tout disposé à recevoir des renforts de ces chevaliers qu'il employait dans ses armées.<sup>4</sup>

Les recherches d'Alfons Becker ont mis en lumière un autre objectif qui paraît avoir été propre à Urbain II: la "restauration du règne du Christ", là où il avait été aboli par les infidèles, c'est à dire le rétablissement de dominations chrétiennes dans les terres occupées par les Musulmans (Espagne, Sicile) et la restauration des

*presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer et Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 27-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cette question a été débattue au cours du colloque *Il concilio di Piacenza e le Crociate* (Piacenza, 1995), dont les actes sont en cours de publication. Selon Bernold de Constance (*Chronica*, dans MGH SS 5:461-65), le pape aurait, à Plaisance, invité beaucoup de Chrétiens à répondre à l'appel d'Alexis en se portant à son aide.

<sup>3</sup> L'insistance sur la paix est surtout sensible dans la relation de Foucher de Chartres. Cf. Jean Flori, *La première croisade: L'Occident contre l'Islam* (Paris, 1992), p. 31, et Dana C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095", *American Historical Review* 11 (1905-6), 231-42.

<sup>4</sup> La fameuse lettre d'Alexis au comte Robert de Flandre, lequel avait effectivement envoyé un corps de chevaliers à l'armée byzantine, considérée par Joranson comme un faux forgé vers 1105, partiellement réhabilitée par François Louis Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène", *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 57-74, a été rendue à une date antérieure à 1095 par Michel de Waha, "La lettre d'Alexis Ier Comnène à Robert Ier le Frison", *Byzantion* 47 (1977), 113-26.

églises et des évêchés disparus.<sup>5</sup> On ne saurait dire jusqu'où Urbain II entendait étendre cette restauration; mais il semble bien qu'il avait mis au programme des croisés la libération du Saint Sépulcre, sans que nous sachions quelles modalités avaient été envisagées pour ce rétablissement d'une domination chrétienne en Terre Sainte.

Ici entrait en jeu le développement considérable du pèlerinage à Jérusalem qui est intervenu au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La visite du Saint-Sépulcre était regardée comme de nature à remplacer toute autre forme de pénitence, et le pape proposait aux croisés cette indulgence plénière, normalement attachée à l'accomplissement de ce pèlerinage, comme rétribution de la participation à l'entreprise.<sup>6</sup>

Ainsi, la conception primitive de la croisade associait-elle l'aide à apporter aux Byzantins, la restauration du règne du Christ au Saint Sépulcre et le gain de l'indulgence liée au pèlerinage de Jérusalem.

Or, dès 1097, le projet initial a commencé à se modifier. Ne cherchons pas à savoir si l'évêque du Puy, Adhémar de Monteil, auquel le pape avait confié les fonctions de légat, était dans le secret des intentions de celui-ci et s'il aurait maintenu la croisade dans la voie définie par lui en ce qui concerne la coopération avec les Byzantins, coopération qui paraît d'ailleurs n'avoir pas été définie avec précision sur le plan stratégique.<sup>7</sup> Il est certain qu'au début de leur traversée de l'Asie mineure les croisés ont travaillé en union avec l'empereur auquel ils ont remis les places conquises. Mais cette entente s'est lézardée pendant le siège d'Antioche, qui avait cependant été entrepris en accord avec Alexis et avec l'aide de ses troupes. Les croisés, enfermés dans la ville par l'armée de Kurbuqa, attendaient le secours de l'empereur qui les abandonna à leur sort.

<sup>5</sup> Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088-1099)*, 2 vols (München, 1964-1988), 2:322-76, 398-406.

<sup>6</sup> Jean Richard, "Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence", dans *Deus qui mutat tempora: Festschrift für Alfons Becker*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Hubertus Seibert et Franz Staab (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 129-35, repr. *Croisades et états latins d'Orient* (Aldershot, 1994); Richard, "L'indulgence de croisade et le pèlerinage en Terre Sainte", à paraître dans les actes du colloque de Plaisance.

<sup>7</sup> August C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade: Success or Failure", *American Historical Review* 53 (1948), 235-50.

Aux termes de l'accord conclu avec lui, les croisés devaient lui remettre les villes qu'ils prendraient, sans que nous sachions avec certitude si cet engagement valait pour la Syrie perdue par l'empire depuis le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle; mais, en l'absence d'Alexis ou de son représentant, Bohémond se considéra comme maître d'Antioche par droit de conquête, comme Baudouin de Boulogne à Edesse. Et la croisade cessa de se comporter comme une expédition vouée au secours de l'empire byzantin.<sup>8</sup>

Lorsqu'elle reprit sa route, dans l'été de 1098, c'est Jérusalem qui était devenu son objectif principal. Les simples pèlerins qui, à Ma'arrat puis à Arcas, contraignent Raymond de Saint-Gilles à renoncer à des conquêtes en exigeant la reprise immédiate de la marche sur la Ville Sainte, montraient bien que pour eux c'était le Saint-Sépulcre qui était le but final de leurs efforts.

L'occupation de Jérusalem a consacré cette interprétation. La "restauration du règne du Christ" se matérialisa par l'expulsion des non-chrétiens (dont un grand nombre avait péri au cours du sac qui suivit l'assaut), le retour au culte chrétien des édifices considérés comme ayant été enlevés à celui-ci par les Musulmans, l'installation d'un clergé et de communautés religieuses et la mise en place de toute une infrastructure destinée à l'accueil des pèlerins.

Mais ceci exigeait le maintien d'une force d'occupation, et il semble bien que celle-ci n'avait pas été prévue dans le projet primitif. Il n'a pas été possible d'établir avec certitude que tel ou tel baron était, avant son départ, décidé à entamer une nouvelle vie outremer et à troquer sa seigneurie occidentale contre une autre en Orient supposée plus riche ou plus prestigieuse; ou bien à consacrer le reste de sa vie à continuer à servir le Christ en défendant les terres rendues à son royaume.<sup>9</sup> Une chose est certaine: les chevaliers qui

<sup>8</sup> Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (München, 1981), pp. 33-59.

<sup>9</sup> Rares sont les croisés qui ont, avant leur départ, évoqué la possibilité de se fixer en Terre Sainte: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 40. Sur l'interprétation de cette intention, voir Jean Richard, "Départs de croisés et de pèlerins bourguignons en XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, à propos d'une chartre de Cluny", *Annales de Bourgogne* 60 (1988), 139-43; repr. *Croisades et états latins d'Orient, points de vue et documents* (Aldershot, 1992).



se fixèrent dans les nouveaux Etats étaient d'ordinaire vassaux en Occident des chefs choisis pour gouverner ceux-ci. Et la grande majorité des croisés n'eut rien de plus pressé que de reprendre le chemin de l'Europe; ce fut pure chance si Godefroy de Bouillon fut en mesure de les rassembler pour arrêter les Egyptiens à Ascalon.

La seconde vague des croisés, celle qui partit à l'appel de Pascal II, avait-elle les mêmes objectifs que celle qui l'avait précédée? Les Byzantins, et avec eux Raymond de Saint-Gilles, ont plus cherché à les encadrer qu'à les diriger; et on ne peut affirmer qu'Alexis comptait sur eux pour rétablir son autorité sur l'Asie mineure et sur la Syrie du Nord.<sup>10</sup> Si de grands projets avaient été conçus, la destruction des armées de cette croisade y avait de toute façon mis fin. Et nous constatons que ceux qui réchappèrent au désastre n'eurent qu'un souci: atteindre Jérusalem et rentrer chez eux.

Après 1101, les croisades n'ont pas pris fin. Celles de 1096 et de 1100 avaient été suscitées par des appels solennels des papes, relayés par des prédicateurs, proclamant l'octroi de l'indulgence comme récompense pour les croisés; il avait même fallu qu'Urbain II précisât que cette indulgence serait acquise aux Espagnols qui défendraient la frontière de la Chrétienté contre les Almoravides au lieu de partir en Orient.<sup>11</sup> Mais d'autres se sont mis en route par la suite, soit spontanément, soit parce ils avaient été touchés par des appels venant de leurs coreligionnaires établis en Orient; ils ne semblent pas avoir eu à solliciter de privilèges spirituels qu'ils considéraient peut-être comme acquis par la visite des Lieux Saints. On voit des groupes de chevaliers partir pour la Terre Sainte et en revenir, et faire des donations à des monastères de la même manière que les croisés de 1096 ou de 1100. Sont-ce des croisés ou des pèlerins? La terminologie ne fait pas de distinction entre eux.

Parfois le pape lance un appel à un départ collectif, comme Calixte II en 1124 ou Eugène III en 1146,<sup>12</sup> ou encore Alexandre III

<sup>10</sup> Lillie, *Byzanz*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>11</sup> Trad. Louise et Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1974), p. 40.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher G. Tyerman, "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?", *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 553-77. Voir aussi Erich

un peu plus tard. Ces appels font suite à des demandes d'aide des chrétiens d'Orient,<sup>13</sup> mais la réponse est très inégale. On a réservé l'appellation de deuxième croisade à celle qu'emmenèrent Louis VII et Conrad III, et qui a eu des caractères voisins de ceux de la première croisade, tant par l'importance des effectifs et par l'itinéraire adopté que par les négociations intervenant avec Byzance, qui ne chercha pas cette fois à s'associer à la campagne. Mais ici aussi les croisés n'ont pas d'autre objectif en arrivant en Syrie que de se rendre à Jérusalem et d'y accomplir leurs dévotions avant d'envisager de combattre pour la défense du Saint-Sépulcre.<sup>14</sup>

Cependant, chaque année, les pèlerins arrivent en foule. Dès 1102, on signale la venue de 200 navires transportant des Westphaliens, des Anglais, d'autres encore: ce sont des pèlerins (Saewulf emploie à leur propos le terme de *palmarii*);<sup>15</sup> ils n'en représentent pas moins une force militaire qui décide les Egyptiens à lever le siège de Jaffa. En 1107, 7000 pèlerins d'Angleterre, de Frise, du Danemark, de Flandre et d'Anvers fournissent au roi de Jérusalem des troupes avec lesquelles il attaque Sidon; et cette ville succombe en 1110 quand des Norvégiens venus pour le pèlerinage viennent renforcer l'armée de Baudouin I. L'usage s'introduit ainsi

Kaspar, "Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III.", *Neues Archiv* 45 (1924), 285-305, et le tout récent ouvrage de Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land* (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. les lettres des Chrétiens de Terre Sainte à Louis VII dans *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle, 17 (Paris, 1878), 36-37, 40, 60, 61, 62, 79, et celle du patriarche Gormond à l'archevêque de Compostelle: Jean Richard, "Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'Eglise latine de Jérusalem", dans *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, 2 vols (Paris, 1955), 2:420-30, repr. *Orient et Occident au Moyen-Age: Contacts et relations* (London, 1976).

<sup>14</sup> Virginia G. Berry, "The Second Crusade", dans *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton et al., 6 vols (Philadelphia et Madison, 1955-1989), 1:503-4; Martin Hoch, *Jerusalem, Damaskus und der zweite Kreuzzug* (Frankfurt, 1993). A noter cependant que c'est à Edesse (*Roais*) que l'auteur d'une chanson contemporaine fixe le rendez-vous des Chrétiens et des Sarrasins: Jean Richard, *L'esprit de la croisade* (Paris, 1969), p. 103

<sup>15</sup> Ce nom est donné aux croisés ayant accompli un vœu en raison de l'usage de rapporter une palme, que l'on vendait sur le marché de Jérusalem.

pour le royaume latin de compter sur l'arrivée des pèlerins pour entamer des opérations de quelque envergure, ou pour abandonner une stratégie de temporisation. Les *Assises de Jérusalem* nous apprennent qu'un fieffé du roi lui doit le service d'un chevalier pèlerin, donc d'un chevalier qui s'engagera au service des Latins pendant la durée de son séjour. Ces "soudoyers" (*stipendarii*) peuvent se fixer en Orient: tel Renaud de Châtillon, qui devint prince d'Antioche, puis sire d'Outre-Jourdain, à la faveur de mariages prestigieux.<sup>16</sup>

Mais ces pèlerins qui se comportent en croisés ne représentent qu'une force d'appoint. Les Francs d'Orient ne disposent que d'effectifs limités. Au lendemain des succès spectaculaires qu'ont été la prise d'Antioche et celle de Jérusalem, il semble qu'on ait conçu de vastes projets. Le titre qu'un acte donne à Baudouin I de Jérusalem – *rex Babylonie vel Asie* – laisse supposer qu'on le voyait destiné à conquérir le Caire ou Damas; les princes d'Antioche et les comtes d'Edesse ont eux aussi eu de grandes ambitions sur la Haute-Mésopotamie. Dès 1104, le désastre de Harran les a ramenés à des perspectives plus modestes. Et vers la même date le roi de Jérusalem édifie une première forteresse, Châtel-Arnoul, pour couvrir la Ville Sainte du côté d'Ascalon.<sup>17</sup>

La stratégie franque est ainsi amenée à s'adapter à une conception qui fait de la possession de la Terre Sainte la raison d'être de la croisade. Les rois de Jérusalem ont mené une politique de conquête des villes de la côte: c'est que celles-ci représentaient un danger permanent du fait des raids lancés en terre franque et de l'action de leurs corsaires sur mer. Quant à Damas, dont la conquête était tentante, les rois latins n'ont pas fait de celle-ci une donnée habituelle de leur politique: M. Hoch a montré que même en 1148, quand ils eurent la possibilité d'utiliser une croisade contre cette ville, c'est parce qu'elle représentait à ce moment là un danger pour

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Hamilton, "The Elephant of Christ: Raynald of Châtillon", *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978), 97-108, repr. *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades* (London, 1979).

<sup>17</sup> Les Egyptiens attaquent ce château dès 1105: René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols (Paris, 1934-36), 1:248.

leurs frontières.<sup>18</sup> Au fond, les “guerres du Seigneur” sont essentiellement des conflits frontaliers...

D’ailleurs, bien que belliqueux, les Francs s’accommodent de la présence de leurs voisins musulmans. Ils ne rechignent pas à conclure des trêves, à partager les revenus de districts frontaliers, voire à combattre à leurs côtés pour les aider à défendre leur indépendance contre leurs coreligionnaires.<sup>19</sup> L’idée d’une “guerre sainte” leur paraît étrangère, même si le recours à la différence religieuse pour animer les combattants est habituel.

Mais le trait dominant des guerres que mènent les Francs est l’impératif de leur survie. La réalisation d’un réseau de forteresses le démontre à l’évidence. Ces “châteaux des croisés” couvrent les passages, assurent la sécurité des territoires, jalonnent les itinéraires suivis par les pèlerins. Un moment le roi Amaury a tenté une conquête, celle de l’Egypte. Mais cela n’a été qu’après plusieurs campagnes menées contre les Damascains qui essayaient de leur côté de s’emparer de l’Egypte; et l’insuccès de cette tentative est particulièrement significatif: une politique d’expansion aurait nécessité la possession de moyens humains et financiers dont l’Orient latin n’a pas disposé, et qu’aucune croisade n’est venue lui fournir.

Au moment même où le danger venant de Damas se précise, lorsque Nūr al-Dīn fait de la guerre sainte l’argument de sa politique, argument qui sera repris par Saladin,<sup>20</sup> les Occidentaux ne se sentent pas obligés d’apporter leur aide militaire à leurs frères d’Orient. Beaucoup se satisferont d’un pèlerinage au cours duquel ils n’envisagent pas de mettre leurs armes au service de ceux-ci: un duc de Saxe, un duc de Bourgogne, un comte de Flandre, sont ainsi uniquement des pèlerins. Et le pape Alexandre III s’alarme; il imagine en 1169 de créer une forme d’indulgence de croisade

<sup>18</sup> Cette politique essentiellement défensive, reconnue par Joshua Prawer, a été spécialement étudiée par Hoch, *Jerusalem, Damaskus und der Zweite Kreuzzug*.

<sup>19</sup> Michael A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Emmanuel Sivan, *L’Islam et la croisade: idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968).

distincte de celle qui est attachée au pèlerinage, pour ceux qui s'emploieront un ou deux ans au service du roi de Jérusalem et des barons d'Orient. Ce qui paraît n'avoir guère eu de succès sur le moment.<sup>21</sup>

En fait, cet Orient latin est d'abord voué au service du pèlerinage et à la défense des lieux saints. La vogue de la visite de ceux-ci n'a fait que croître au cours du XIIe siècle. Dès l'instant que cette visite ne rencontre pas d'entraves, les Occidentaux ne se sentent nullement attirés par l'idée d'étendre davantage le règne du Christ ... Et la conception de la croisade reste limitée au maintien de cette situation; sa stratégie, à l'envoi de renforts en cas de nécessité. Et la lecture des lettres du roi Amaury<sup>22</sup> atteste que l'Occident n'est pas toujours attentif aux appels qui lui sont lancés.

Aux croisades intervenues après 1187, P. Alphanbéry et P. Dupront avaient donné pour titre "les recommencements nécessaires".<sup>23</sup> Est-ce à dire qu'après le désastre de Hattin, la chute de la Ville Sainte et la prise de la Vraie Croix, on en est revenu à la conception de la croisade qui avait été celle de 1095?

Il ne faut pas oublier que pour l'Occident chrétien, la prise de Jérusalem par les croisés était apparue comme miraculeuse, en égard à la disproportion des forces, aux difficultés de la marche d'approche, à la brièveté du siège. Il semblait que Dieu avait manifesté sa volonté à cette occasion, et on avait même institué une fête pour lui en rendre grâce.<sup>24</sup> Les événements de 1187 apparaissaient comme une punition: Dieu avait retiré sa protection aux Chrétiens, indignes de celle-ci, en leur retirant la possession de la Ville Sainte et celle de la Vraie Croix (dont la perte fut ressentie à l'égal de celle du tombeau du Christ). Il avait même permis que ces objets de la vénération des fidèles fussent exposés aux outrages des Musulmans, ce qui pour des esprits imbus de conceptions chevaleresques, appelait vengeance. Et on sait que des manifesta-

<sup>21</sup> Richard, "Urbain II".

<sup>22</sup> Comme ci-dessus, n. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Alphanbéry et Alphonse Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2 vols (Paris, 1954-59).

<sup>24</sup> Charles Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)", *ROL* 8 (1900-1), 427-30.

tions de pénitence publique parurent indispensables; elles se prolongèrent par la suite, tant il semblait nécessaire de fléchir Dieu par des actes de repentir autant que de recourir aux armes.

La Chrétienté ne pouvait accepter d'être privée de Jérusalem qui tenait une place si importante dans la vie chrétienne. La reconquête s'imposait donc et les premiers croisés se mirent en route dès qu'on apprit la chute de la ville. Ce qu'il s'agissait de reconquérir, c'était le royaume de Jérusalem qu'on avait pris l'habitude d'identifier à la Terre Sainte. C'est ce qu'atteste un mémorandum établi à l'occasion des négociations avec le sultan d'Egypte, vers 1240, et le pape Innocent III, proposant à celui-ci une paix durable, en 1213, faisant de la restitution de la Terre Sainte la condition de celle-ci.<sup>25</sup>

Les princes musulmans de la dynastie ayyūbide ont été conscients de ce qui faisait l'objet des croisades, et, lorsqu'ils ont été amenés à négocier avec les Chrétiens, ils ont fait de la Terre Sainte un objet d'échange. Al-Mu'azzam, en 1220, faisait démanteler les forteresses de ce pays pour que, si on le restituait aux croisés, ceux-ci ne puissent s'en servir pour des desseins offensifs. Et al-Kāmil, puis ses successeurs, ont utilisé la Terre Sainte pour obtenir l'aide des Chrétiens contre leurs rivaux.

Lors de la troisième croisade, les croisés se sont trouvés en présence d'un empire ayyūbide encore unitaire et dans la plénitude de sa force. Quatre ans de guerre et un effort soutenu par l'arrivée de nouveaux renforts n'ont permis de recouvrer que la ville d'Acre et un territoire côtier allant jusqu'à Jaffa. Une trêve est conclue; une nouvelle croisade part à l'initiative de l'empereur Henri VI.<sup>26</sup> Elle se dissocie à la mort de celui-ci; Innocent III décide en 1199 une nouvelle croisade qui aboutit après d'étranges péripéties à la prise de Constantinople, qui était étrangère à l'objet de l'expédition et

<sup>25</sup> Paul Deschamps, "Etude sur un texte latin énumérant les possessions musulmanes dans le royaume de Jérusalem vers l'année 1239", *Syria* 33 (1942-43), 86-104; Innocent III, *Registra*, PL 216:830-32 (trad. française: Richard, *L'esprit de la croisade*, pp. 81-84).

<sup>26</sup> Claudia Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI.* (Frankfurt, 1994).

risquait de mettre en danger les bases chrétiennes de Terre Sainte;<sup>27</sup> il a fallu l'habileté du roi Aimery pour que son royaume ne souffre pas de cette diversion. Mais Innocent III reprend son projet en 1213, en face de nouvelles menaces; la cinquième croisade comporte plusieurs vagues successives dont les dernières ne se mettent en route qu'en 1221.<sup>28</sup> L'empereur Frédéric II organise une nouvelle expédition en 1228. Il a atteint partiellement le but cherché; mais il faut une nouvelle croisade, en 1239-41, pour que Jérusalem soit totalement rendue aux Chrétiens, avec une grande partie de l'ancien royaume. En fait, toutes ces campagnes constituent comme une croisade unique, interrompue par des trêves qui marquent l'essoufflement des deux parties.

Cette croisade s'organise sur des bases bien définies, très différentes de ce qu'avait été l'espèce de croisade permanente, qui se différencie mal du pèlerinage, qu'avait connue le XIIe siècle. Le IVe concile du Latran, en 1215, a adopté tout un ensemble de mesures qui définissent exactement la croisade et qui entrent dans tous les détails de son organisation, depuis la désignation des légats qui en reçoivent la charge, qui mandatent les prédicateurs à qui est confié le recrutement des croisés,<sup>29</sup> en passant par les privilèges accordés aux croisés et à ceux qui facilitent leur voyage, jusqu'à l'interdiction faite aux Chrétiens de servir les infidèles comme pilotes de leurs navires et de commercer avec les pays du sultan. La mise en place d'un système de financement des croisades par l'institution d'un prélèvement sur le revenu des ecclésiastiques et la possibilité de se racheter du vœu de croisade moyennant finances, contribue à donner plus de rigueur à la direction de ces expéditions: après la désastreuse expérience de la quatrième croisade, où le

<sup>27</sup> Anatole Frolow, *Recherches sur la déviation de la 4e Croisade* (Paris, 1955); Donald E. Queller et Susan J. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969), 235-77.

<sup>28</sup> James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade - 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, 1986).

<sup>29</sup> Par exemple, la désignation de Foulques de Neuilly: Werner Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus, Kardinal-Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologe († 1214)* (Wien, 1988), p. 105 et suivantes.

“trésor de guerre” avait été acheminé vers la Terre Sainte au lieu de servir aux croisés, la Papauté s’est décidé à affecter le produit des décimes aux chefs des principautés qui prennent la croix;<sup>30</sup> ceci leur permet de prendre à leur charge le transport, l’entretien et les autres dépenses de ceux qui les suivent. Les armées de la croisade font ainsi de plus en plus figure d’armées féodales soldées, et l’unité de commandement en est renforcée.

En face d’une conception plus rigoureuse de la croisade, la stratégie de celle-ci porte de plus en plus la marque d’une pensée militaire réfléchie. Aucune des expéditions n’a cherché à renouveler le précédent de 1099 et à se porter sur Jérusalem, de crainte, soit d’avoir à mener un siège dans les conditions difficiles qu’offrait un stationnement sur les hauteurs de Judée, soit de ne pas trouver de points fortifiés où s’accrocher. Certains croisés ont cependant estimé qu’une telle offensive pouvait remporter un succès; ils n’ont pas été écoutés.<sup>31</sup>

L’idée fondamentale est de constituer une solide base d’opération sur la côte. C’est ce qu’a fait la troisième croisade, un peu par hasard: Guy de Lusignan, roi de Jérusalem, s’était porté avec la petite armée qu’il avait reconstituée sur Acre, et tous les contingents l’ont l’un après l’autre rejoint. Par la suite, chaque croisade laisse derrière elle un certain nombre de places fortes restaurées ou renforcées, à partir desquelles on pourrait passer à l’offensive. Mais les chefs de croisades et les barons latins d’Orient ont pris une meilleure connaissance de la géographie politique de l’Orient, et ils cherchent à l’exploiter. C’est le sultan d’Egypte qui détient Jérusalem; il est donc tentant de l’attaquer au cœur même de sa puissance pour l’obliger à lâcher prise. Et c’est l’Egypte qu’il

<sup>30</sup> Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy 1244-1291: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land* (Leiden, 1975).

<sup>31</sup> Selon Ernoul, auquel Joinville fait écho, c’est pour priver Richard Cœur de Lion de la gloire d’avoir reconquis Jérusalem que le duc de Bourgogne aurait fait battre en retraite son corps d’armée, alors que le roi d’Angleterre était en mesure de prendre la ville. Discussion de cette controverse dans Grousset, *Histoire* 3:73-102, d’où il ressort que les considérations stratégiques ont en fait joué un rôle essentiel.



convient d'envahir: la Palestine n'est qu'une dépendance de celle-ci, et c'est de l'Égypte que le sultan tire l'essentiel de ses ressources. Aussi a-t-on pensé à une campagne d'Égypte dans l'entourage de Richard Cœur de Lion. Les croisés de 1201-4 envisageaient un débarquement en Égypte. Ceux de 1218 ont assiégé et occupé Damiette. Et en 1237 les barons de Terre Sainte suggéraient aux croisés de débarquer à Chypre plutôt qu'à Acre pour y élaborer leur plan de campagne: ils pensaient sûrement aussi à l'Égypte.<sup>32</sup>

L'objet d'une telle campagne était d'obliger le sultan à rendre Jérusalem en échange de l'évacuation de l'Égypte. Et c'est ainsi que les frères ayyūbides l'ont compris lors de la prise de Damiette: ils ont offert cette restitution et pris des dispositions dans cette perspective. Et c'était aussi ce que désirait le roi Jean de Brienne. Mais un conflit a alors éclaté entre celui-ci et le légat Pélage, lequel optait pour la continuation de la conquête de l'Égypte, sans doute en pensant que celle-ci permettrait le retour de ce pays au christianisme.

La question s'est posée de nouveau lors de la campagne menée en Égypte par Saint Louis - précédée du séjour en Chypre que l'on avait recommandé sans succès aux croisés de 1239. Mathieu Paris s'est posé en porte-parole de ceux qui reprochaient au roi de France de s'être détourné du but de la croisade, qui aurait été de se servir d'un gage pour obliger le sultan à restituer Jérusalem en échange de l'abandon de Damiette.<sup>33</sup> En fait, le sultan al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb n'a pas fait mine de proposer un tel échange. Aux yeux du chroniqueur anglais, le but que se proposait le roi aurait été de conquérir l'Égypte sans intention de s'en dessaisir, ce qui lui paraissait une volonté de conquête étrangère à l'idée de croisade. Il faut avouer

<sup>32</sup> Sidney Painter, "The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall", dans *A History of the Crusades*, 2:470.

<sup>33</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Harry R. Luard (London, 1872-83), 5:106, 143. Les autres sources ne font pas état de l'offre de restitution de Jérusalem attribuée par lui au sultan.

que la fondation de l'église de Damiette et sa dotation par le roi vont assez dans le sens d'une prise de possession définitive.<sup>34</sup>

La stratégie fondée sur la saisie d'un gage en Egypte a donc rencontré en face d'elle l'idée d'une occupation de ce pays qui aurait d'ailleurs entraîné la réoccupation de Jérusalem.

Mais une autre stratégie s'est esquissée avec l'aggravation des querelles entre les héritiers de Saladin. Frédéric II a été l'initiateur de celle-ci; mais il n'est pas exclu que l'initiative soit venue du sultan d'Egypte lui-même qui, pour obtenir l'appui de l'empereur dont on attendait la venue en Orient contre son frère, le sultan de Damas, lui aurait promis Jérusalem. Frédéric II est parvenu à négocier la remise entre ses mains du Saint Sépulcre et d'autres territoires voisins. Thibaud de Champagne et Richard de Cornwall ont à leur tour joué de la démonstration de leur puissance militaire pour obtenir en 1241 de nouvelles concessions.

Mais cette nouvelle stratégie comportait des aléas. En 1244, les Francs ont cru pouvoir proposer leur alliance au sultan de Damas contre l'Egypte en échange de nouvelles concessions, ce qui les a amenés au désastre de la Forbie et à la perte de Jérusalem.

La croisade de Saint Louis (1248-54) a sans doute joué un rôle important dans l'avenir de l'idée de croisade. Elle se situe dans la ligne des précédentes; si le roi s'est croisé spontanément, avant que le pape Innocent IV ait appelé à la croisade, celle-ci s'est organisée selon les normes définies en 1215, et elle a été avant tout l'armée du roi de France, renforcée de contingents extérieurs.<sup>35</sup> Elle a, nous l'avons vu, adopté pour stratégie un débarquement en Egypte. Mais, une fois obligé d'abandonner Damiette pour obtenir sa libération, Saint Louis s'est considéré comme tenu de ne pas laisser la Terre Sainte exposée à de nouvelles attaques; il a fait refaire les murailles des villes de la côte; il a offert son alliance aux princes musulmans en espérant en tirer un profit, comme l'avaient fait les croisés

<sup>34</sup> Jean Richard, "La fondation d'une église latine en Orient par Saint Louis: Damiette", *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 120 (1969), 39-54, repr. *Orient et Occident au Moyen-Age*.

<sup>35</sup> C'est à tort que l'on attribue à Saint Louis la volonté de mener outre-mer une croisade composée de ses seules troupes: Jean Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1983), pp. 183-93.

précédents. Toutefois l'échec a été assez durement ressenti pour décourager de nouvelles entreprises, au moins dans l'immédiat; et, en attendant d'envisager de nouveau la récupération de la Terre Sainte, c'est le maintien des Etats francs, bien réduits en étendue, dans un Proche Orient pour le moment en équilibre, qui reste l'objectif que se proposent le pape et ses souverains d'Occident. L'urgence d'une nouvelle croisade ne paraît pas s'imposer.

Qu'en est-il du pèlerinage, qui tenait une telle place dans la conception précédente de la croisade? Les participants des croisades aspirent toujours à visiter le Saint-Sépulcre: ceux de la troisième croisade profitent pour cela des trêves obtenues de Saladin.<sup>36</sup> L'armée de Frédéric II brava les interdits pontificaux pour s'y rendre. Mais bien des croisés n'ont jamais eu la possibilité de se rendre aux Lieux Saints, et ceux qui n'ont pas eu cette occasion n'ont pas fait état de leur déception dans les poèmes qu'ils nous laissent. L'indulgence de croisade semble leur avoir offert une récompense suffisante.

Or, en 1260, les choses se modifient. Les Mongols, qui menacent l'Europe orientale d'une nouvelle invasion, ont fait en Syrie une descente qui s'est achevée par une grave défaite, mais qui a aussi bouleversé la situation politique de l'Orient en n'y laissant plus qu'une seule puissance musulmane, le sultanat des Mamelûks. Pendant que la Papauté s'alarme du danger mongol, l'Il-Khan de Perse, Hulegu, a pris conscience de l'utilité qu'aurait pour lui une collaboration militaire avec les Francs qui pourraient attaquer l'Egypte par mer, et il leur offre son alliance en leur promettant la rétrocession de la Terre Sainte. Déjà, en 1260, il avait fait restituer au prince d'Antioche les places enlevées à sa principauté par Saladin. En 1262, sa lettre à Saint Louis ouvre la voie à de nouvelles conceptions.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Sur la renonciation de Saint Louis à un pèlerinage à Jérusalem, voir Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1968), pp. 198-99.

<sup>37</sup> Jean Richard, "Une ambassade mongole à Paris en 1262?", *Journal des savants* (1979), 295-303, repr. *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs* (London, 1983).

Cependant, le sultan Baybars avait pris lui aussi conscience du danger d'une telle collaboration et, dès 1263, il entreprenait une suite de campagne dirigées contre les seigneuries franques et contre le royaume de Petite-Arménie, très lié aux Mongols. L'Occident s'est donc trouvé en présence de deux perspectives, l'une consistant à parer au danger le plus pressant, l'autre à tirer parti des offres des Mongols. Et ceci détermine deux types de croisades, l'une et l'autre enrichies des habituelles indulgences et financées par les décimes, les rachats de vœux et les autres sources financières.

Les croisades destinées à maintenir la présence chrétienne en Orient rejoignent d'autres formes de secours militaires: des princes (Saint Louis, Edouard d'Angleterre) maintiennent des unités de chevaliers ou d'arbalétriers qui tiennent garnison à Acre sous Geoffroy de Sergines ou Jean de Grailly, contingents qui jouent un peu le même rôle que les quelques centaines de Templiers, d'Hospitaliers ou de Teutoniques que les ordres faisaient venir d'Occident pour tenir garnison dans leurs châteaux d'Orient. Mais, quand le besoin presse, la Papauté fait prêcher une croisade, souvent dans une région bien définie (quelques provinces ecclésiastiques) où des princes ont manifesté le désir d'aller secourir leurs frères d'outremer; et on lève dans ces régions une décime.

Il s'agit là de ce qu'on appelle des "passages particuliers" qui représentent des expéditions à effectifs limités. Les papes Urbain IV et Clément IV ont ainsi encouragé le départ de certains princes allemands, du fils du duc Hugues IV de Bourgogne.<sup>38</sup> Ce dernier emmena à Acre une centaine de chevaliers et contribua pendant un an à la défense de la ville. Après la prise de Tripoli, le pape Nicolas IV prêche à son tour une croisade qui amena d'autres défenseurs à Acre, où ils ne firent d'ailleurs que de fournir un prétexte au sultan pour attaquer la ville.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Jean Richard, "La croisade de 1270, premier passage général?", *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances* (1989), 514-17, repr. *Croisades et états latins d'Orient*.

<sup>39</sup> *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. E. Langlois, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-1905), nos. 2269, 2270, 4385, 4387, 6664, 6684; Gheorghe Bratianu, "Autour du projet de croisade de Nicolas IV: la guerre ou le commerce avec l'infidèle", *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* 21 (1945), 250-55.

Des projets beaucoup plus ambitieux sont caressés quand il s'agit de la "récupération de la Terre Sainte". Conscients de la disproportion des forces et des moyens qu'ils peuvent opposer aux Mamelūks, les Occidentaux mettent désormais leurs espoirs dans une coalition réunissant avec eux les Mongols et aussi les Byzantins. Car le *basileus* Michel VIII Paléologue, s'il a repris Constantinople aux Latins, a fait alliance avec les Mongols et attend sans doute de celle-ci qu'elle garantisse son empire contre les Turcs en même temps qu'il gagnera par là la sympathie des Latins.

Le projet est aussi simple que grandiose, et il est pratiquement défini en 1263 et 1270. La Papauté, d'abord réticente et surtout préoccupée d'amener les Mongols à la foi chrétienne, les rois de France, d'Aragon, de Sicile et d'Angleterre reçoivent des messages et y répondent.<sup>40</sup> Le successeur de Hulegu, Abaqa, propose aux Occidentaux "d'êtreindre" les Egyptiens entre eux et de combiner leurs opérations avec celles de son armée stationnée en Anatolie. Les Mongols iront plus loin en offrant aux Chrétiens de leur fournir la remonte de leurs chevaux dans le cas d'un débarquement en Cilice. Les Byzantins se chargeront de les ravitailler. Tout ceci allégerait les charges de la croisade. On compte sur les Occidentaux pour la maîtrise de la mer. La rétrocession de la Terre Sainte suivra la victoire.

Ce plan paraît avoir connu un début de réalisation entre 1269 et 1271. Le roi Jaime II d'Aragon, parti le premier après avoir négocié avec les Mongols, a rebroussé chemin peu après son départ, et ses fils ont débarqué à Acre, mais n'ont pas attendu les autres croisés. Saint Louis, si l'on accepte notre hypothèse, avait l'intention d'attaquer l'Egypte en liaison avec ces mêmes Mongols; son détour par Tunis aurait été une opération préalable, en vue d'enlever aux Egyptiens les secours que leur fournissait le Maghreb, voire d'associer les Tunisiens à l'expédition. Sa mort et la destruction de sa flotte dans une tempête ont laissé Edouard I d'Angleterre pousser seul cette campagne à son terme. Mais les Mongols ont manqué au rendez-vous (ils s'en sont excusés à

<sup>40</sup> Karl Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern im 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels* (Città del Vaticano, 1981).

plusieurs reprises) et Edouard a dû se contenter de mettre un terme aux conquêtes de Baybars en l'amenant à conclure une trêve.<sup>41</sup> Ce qui correspond au succès qu'on aurait pu attendre d'un "passage particulier".

La préparation du "passage général" a été reprise par le pape Grégoire X qui a convoqué le second concile de Lyon à cette fin. La collaboration des Mongols et des Byzantins est acquise: leurs envoyés sont venus le confirmer. La pacification de l'Occident paraît établie. La prédication de la croisade et la collecte des ressources financières est organisée, région par région, et doit s'étaler sur une durée de six ans. Quant à la stratégie proprement dite, elle reste conforme au projet déjà défini.<sup>42</sup>

Ce vaste projet a rencontré des traverses: révolution de palais en Iran, ambitions de Charles d'Anjou sur l'Albanie, l'Épire et la Morée, voire sur Byzance même, insurrection de la Sicile et conflit avec l'Aragon. Les Mongols sont bien descendus en Syrie à la date prévue (1280), mais ils n'ont pas obtenus d'aide de la part des Occidentaux, ni même des Francs d'Acre peu désireux de braver le sultan. Néanmoins ils ont repris le projet qui a fait l'objet de plusieurs ambassades, dont celle de l'évêque Barçauima en 1288; et la chute d'Acre n'a pas mis fin à ces conversations. La conversion même du Khan Gazan à l'Islam n'a pas non plus modifié ses intentions: quand il descend en Syrie où Damas lui a ouvert ses portes, il s'empresse d'en avertir les Occidentaux en leur proposant de procéder à la réoccupation de la Terre Sainte (1299-1302). Mais seul le petit royaume de Chypre s'est associé à ces opérations. Et la défaite de l'armée mongole n'a pas permis aux Chypriotes de se maintenir dans l'île de Rouad qu'ils avaient occupée.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Richard, "Croisade de 1270"; Reinhold Röhrich, "Études sur les derniers temps du royaume de Jérusalem. I. La croisade du prince Edouard d'Angleterre", *AOL* 1 (1881), 617-52.

<sup>42</sup> Curieusement, la croisade elle-même n'a pas été étudiée à l'occasion du colloque tenu pour le septième centenaire du concile de Lyon: 1274, *année charnière. Mutations et continuité* (Paris, 1977). On se reportera à Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*.

<sup>43</sup> Jean Richard, "Isol le Pisan: un aventurier franc gouverneur d'une province mongole?", *Central Asiatic Journal* 14 (1970), 186-94, repr. *Orient et Occident au Moyen-Age*.

La chute des dernières places de Terre Sainte n'a pas seulement privé la croisade à venir de bases d'opérations. Elle a rendu les "passages particuliers" moins urgents, puisqu'il n'était plus besoin d'apporter des secours à ce qui restait de la terre occupée par les croisés. Et on conçoit désormais les passages particuliers comme des opérations préliminaires à un "passage général" que l'on attend toujours.

Dans l'attente de celui-ci, la Papauté a maintenu certains points de la stratégie définie au concile de Latran de 1215, en proclamant le blocus commercial des pays soumis au sultan, dans la pensée de le priver de ressources financières, donc de l'affaiblir. Nicolas IV l'avait fait au lendemain de la chute de Tripoli, mais le patriarche de Jérusalem lui-même, son légat en Terre Sainte, lui avait demandé d'assouplir ce blocus, dans l'intérêt des villes encore franques. Il a renouvelé ses prescriptions en 1291, et les papes suivants les ont maintenues. Mais l'Occident était loin d'être unanime: la guerre de Sicile et les intérêts des marchands de Barcelone amenaient le roi d'Aragon à promettre son appui au sultan, puis à maintenir des relations avec lui. Les villes marchandes d'Italie ne renonçaient pas à leur commerce avec Alexandrie.

Observé de façon seulement partielle, le blocus a pratiquement cessé lorsque les rois de Chypre sont entrés en négociation avec le sultan (1326). Il n'avait guère été efficace.<sup>44</sup>

La préparation de la croisade passait par une étude préalable de sa réalisation. Déjà, à la veille du second concile de Lyon, Grégoire X avait sollicité l'avis d'experts sur l'opportunité de la croisade: Bruno d'Olomouc avait déconseillé de mener celle-ci en Orient, pour proposer d'autres objectifs; Humbert de Romans ou Guillaume de Tripoli donnaient des arguments en faveur de la croisade, le second donnant sa préférence à un programme de

<sup>44</sup> Jean Richard, "Le royaume de Chypre et l'embargo sur le commerce avec l'Egypte (fin XIIIe - début XIVe siècle)", *Académie des inscriptions. Comptes rendus* (1984), 120-34, repr. *Croisades et états latins d'Orient*; Richard, "L'Etat de guerre avec l'Egypte et le royaume de Chypre", dans *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες / Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 88-95.

conversion des Musulmans.<sup>45</sup> Mais, par la suite, les mémoires se succèdent, surtout après la chute d'Acre, qui permet d'envisager des programmes stratégiques ne tenant plus compte de la nécessité de sauver les territoires francs d'Orient.

Il faudrait reprendre tous ces projets, qui émanent d'ordinaire d'hommes qui connaissent l'Orient - Fidence de Padoue, Charles II de Sicile, Jacques de Molay, Foulques de Villaret, le roi Henri II de Chypre, parmi lesquels des missionnaires comme Raymond Etienne ou Guillaume Adam, les auteurs du *Directorium ad passagium faciendum* et du *De modo Saracenos extirpandi*.

Il n'est pas jusqu'au Dominicain Jourdain Cathala de Séverac, découvrant dans le lointain port de Quilon, dans l'Inde du Sud, l'importance du trafic de l'Inde avec l'Egypte, qui ne suggère de lancer une escadre dans l'Océan Indien pour nuire au sultan.<sup>46</sup> Ces projets sont parfois très classiques: débarquement en Cilicie, réunion avec les Mongols, marche sur l'Egypte dont les étapes sont soigneusement étudiées. D'autres sont plus originaux: un des auteurs propose de reprendre la route de la première croisade, en soumettant au passage les Byzantins. Quant au conseiller du roi Philippe le Bel, Pierre Dubois, il envisage tout simplement de réorganiser le gouvernement de l'Europe et celui du Proche Orient...

Mais il est remarquable que, bien que l'entrée en scène des Mongols ait modifié les perspectives qui s'offraient aux futurs croisés, la conception de la croisade reste centrée sur la Terre Sainte. Le pèlerinage n'y tient pratiquement pas de place. Non parce qu'il aurait perdu de son attrait: les navires de Marseille, de Gênes, de Venise continuent à charger les pèlerins. Mais parce qu'il s'est accommodé de la situation qui lui est faite. C'est au temps des Mamelûks qu'a été composé le plus complet des guides de

<sup>45</sup> Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusades* (Amsterdam, 1940), repr. (Philadelphia, 1975).

<sup>46</sup> Jean Richard, "Les navigations des Occidentaux sur l'Océan Indien et la mer Caspienne (XIIIe-XVe siècle)", dans *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien* (Paris, 1970), pp. 353-63, repr. *Orient et Occident au Moyen-Age*, trad. anglaise, "European Voyages in the Indian Ocean and the Caspian Sea, 12th-15th Centuries", *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 6 (1968), 45-52.



pèlerinage, celui de Burchard de Mont-Sion; Ricoldo de Monte Croce a parcouru la Galilée et visité ses sanctuaires désertés par les communautés religieuses qui y avaient fleuri au temps de la domination franque, en 1288.<sup>47</sup>

Les pèlerins évoquent avec nostalgie le temps passé ou expriment le souhait de revoir la Terre Sainte aux mains des Chrétiens; ils n'en parcourent pas moins le pays et acceptent d'acquitter les "tributs" qu'on exige d'eux. L'interdiction de fréquenter les terres du sultan, que Nicolas IV a proclamée en 1289, a été aussitôt enfreinte. Le pape la renouvelle en 1291, et l'Occident doit accepter de se priver de cette dévotion qui lui était apparue comme essentielle. On sait que, pour plusieurs historiens, le grand jubilé de 1300 était apparu comme un substitut de ce pèlerinage provisoirement impossible.<sup>48</sup> Mais les pèlerins réapparaissent en profitant de licences accordées à des ambassadeurs ou autrement, et, finalement, on voit Jean XXII accorder une indulgence à un hôpital fondé à Famagouste, en Chypre, à l'intention des pèlerins alors que le droit de se rendre à Jérusalem est encore en principe soumis à l'octroi de dérogations. Le pèlerinage se maintient donc en marge de la croisade. Et l'indulgence de croisade s'est substituée à celle qu'on allait chercher au Saint-Sépulcre.

La conception de la croisade qui reste inchangée au temps de l'alliance mongole est donc fondée sur la nécessité de "récupérer la Terre Sainte". Les écrits des auteurs de projets de croisade, sauf quand il s'agit de penseurs qui rêvent de reconstruire le monde, mettent l'accent sur cet impératif. L'Occident ne fait pas de difficulté pour accepter que les Mongols exercent leur souveraineté sur l'Asie entière: mis à part quelques projets d'annexion de l'Egypte, les Occidentaux n'ont pas conçu la croisade comme l'instrument d'un "impérialisme", et ils n'ont pas davantage, malgré le titre de Guillaume Adam donnait à son traité, pensé à "extirper" les Sarrasins – pour cela, ils comptaient sur la mission, qui relève

<sup>47</sup> Voyage de Ricoldo: *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 103-13. La relation de Burchard a été publiée dans le même volume.

<sup>48</sup> Sur "la Croisade comme jubilé", voir Etienne Delaruelle, *L'idée de croisade au Moyen Age*, ed. André Vauchez (Torino, 1980), pp. 56-60.

d'une autre conception.<sup>49</sup> Dans leur esprit, la Terre Sainte appartient à la Chrétienté, et c'est toujours, comme au temps d'Urbain II et d'Innocent III, elle qu'il s'agit de rendre au "règne du Christ".

La stratégie, par contre, s'est adaptée aux nouvelles conditions que les croisés ont rencontrées. Avec la naissance de l'empire syro-égyptien de Saladin, l'Égypte est entrée dans leurs perspectives, et il a semblé que les clés de Jérusalem étaient au Caire. Frédéric II l'a démontré de façon presque paradoxale. Avec la survenue des Mongols, la notion d'une grande coalition, seule capable de venir à bout des forces de l'empire des Mamelûks, qui avait démontré sa puissance en mettant en échec l'expédition cependant remarquablement organisée et prudemment conduite de Saint Louis, s'est imposée, établissant une différenciation entre les passages généraux et particuliers. Mais les dimensions mêmes de cette coalition en ont rendu la mise en œuvre illusoire.

Cette adaptation de la stratégie des croisades à une réalité mouvante a nécessité de la part des Occidentaux la prise de conscience de ce qu'était ce monde oriental où la première croisade les avait introduits. Lors de celle-ci, ils avaient découvert le Khurasan, regardé comme le pays d'origine des Turcs, et où certains d'entre eux avaient été conduits en esclavage. L'échiquier politique couvrant l'Égypte, la Syrie, la Mésopotamie et même l'Arabie prend sa consistance au cours du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et permet les manœuvres diplomatiques du XIII<sup>e</sup>. Découvert avec la cinquième croisade, le monde de l'Asie intérieure et de l'Extrême Orient révèle les virtualités de l'Empire mongol, et rien ne le montre mieux que ce traité du futur Prémontré Haython de Gorhigos, prince arménien très lié aux Lusignans de Chypre, qui fournit à l'appui de son projet de croisade destiné au pape Clément V tout un tableau de la géographie politique de l'Asie.<sup>50</sup>

Et, si l'on peut assigner une date à la fin de l'époque des croisades, il faut la placer après les tentatives de monter de nouvelles expéditions qui ont marqué les règnes des derniers

<sup>49</sup> Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984).

<sup>50</sup> *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient*, ed. Charles Kohler, RHC Arm. 2.

Capétiens et les premières années de Philippe VI de France. Ce dernier envisageait encore de conduire l'armée chrétienne à la reconquête de la Terre Sainte, et son fils, Jean le Bon, y pensait encore quand il prit la croix en 1364.<sup>51</sup> Mais de cette dernière tentative, il ne devait sortir qu'un "passage particulier", celui que Pierre I de Chypre emmena à Alexandrie et sur les côtes de Syrie. En fait, depuis 1334, une autre conception de la croisade se fait jour qui, curieusement, retrouve une des perspectives du projet d'Urbain IV. Ce sont les incursions et les raids des émirs turcs en mer Egée, dans les Balkans, et bientôt la menace que les Ottomans font peser sur Byzance, qui amènent les puissances maritimes à édifier des "Saintes Liges" qui bénéficient de tous les privilèges des croisades, et ensuite les princes occidentaux à entendre les appels qui leur viennent des Byzantins et du Sud-Est de l'Europe, en vue d'arrêter une nouvelle invasion turque. La croisade continue, mais avec une conception différente et de nouvelles stratégies.

*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris*

<sup>51</sup> Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: 1274-1580. From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992).







# The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade

John France

The nine-hundredth anniversary of the launching of the First Crusade seems a very good opportunity to look again at the literary sources for that great event. My starting point on this occasion is a view which I have expressed before, but which I think bears repetition: that the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* has become the “normal” account of the First Crusade, forming the basis of narrative, to which all others are simply related by modern writers.<sup>1</sup> This position has been promoted by the fact that so many accounts, even of eye-witnesses, used that of the Anonymous and thus have been subtly demoted, and by the easy and cheap availability of the *Gesta* text. We are shortly to have a new edition and English translation of the work of Albert of Aachen, and the appearance of this text which is in no way dependent on the *Gesta* tradition ought to give us another pillar upon which to rest our accounts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John France, “The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon”, *Canadian Journal of History* 18 (1983), 321-29 (here 321-22). *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962) [GF] is the edition to which reference will be made.

<sup>2</sup> The new edition of Albert of Aachen is being prepared for Oxford Medieval Texts by Dr Susan Edgington of the Huntingdon College.

It is well known that a number of participants in the crusade who wrote their own accounts chose to use the *Gesta*, notably Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers. But there is a much larger group of works which is most often dismissed as directly derived from that of the Anonymous: it is the theme of this paper that they have a value in themselves as sources for the First Crusade. It is, of course, very true that these early twelfth-century sources have been highly valued for understanding the development of the "crusading idea" and I am sure we have all read the seminal article (and that word is used deliberately) of Ernest Blake which lies at the root of all our understanding of this vital topic.<sup>3</sup> It is not my intention to treat this topic here, though I would note that this spiritualising tendency is very powerful throughout these texts.

Any consideration of this topic must discuss whether we can speak of the use of the *Gesta Francorum* as we have it or whether we ought to think of this as an edited version and can reasonably hypothesise an *Ur-Gesta* or even some other and earlier source used by the Anonymous and other narrators of the crusade story.<sup>4</sup> There is always a strong temptation to suspect the *Gesta*: the literary passages, some quite long, clash with the notion of the direct and straightforward work of a simple knight, and the blandness of Book X is highly suspicious.<sup>5</sup> Reasonable explanations can, however, be found and the literary passages occur in the accounts of all those who made extensive use of the work. Moreover, it must be said that my computer analysis of Book X and one of the literary passages to see if separate authorship could be established was inconclusive.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ernest O. Blake, "The Formation of the Crusade Idea", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 11-31.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill. English translation (Philadelphia, 1974) [Hill, Tudebode], Latin text revised by Jean Richard (Paris, 1977) [Tudebodus]. Tudebode was also edited in RHC Occ. 3:1-117 [PT] and reference will be made to this edition.

<sup>5</sup> In a valuable study, the view of the Anonymous as a simple knight has been challenged: Colin Morris, "The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History", *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), 55-71.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Michael G. Farringdon of the European Business Management School, University of Wales, Swansea, collaborated with me on the computer analysis of the *Gesta Francorum* and I would like to take this opportunity to



Many of the early twelfth-century family of chronicles which are clearly close to the *Gesta* omit some of its passages and contain unique information or expand statements which are clearly very like those of the Anonymous, as, for example, Peter Tudebode on the People's Crusade. Sometimes they got this from known sources, but we need to remember that those who wrote in the generation after 1099 appear to have been able to draw on the memories of survivors, doubtless sometimes in distorted form – Albert of Aachen seems to have used their reminiscences as the basis of his work. Of all of what I think we can call for convenience “the *Gesta* family” the most individual is that of Peter Tudebode. He was a Poitevin priest who went on the crusade and it is hardly surprising that his work contains a great deal of fresh information. However, he was clearly less interested in Bohemond and the South Italians than the Anonymous was: for example, he does not give lists of their participants, he has a short version of their march across the Balkans and presents the Lake Battle of Antioch on 9 February 1098 as under the command of the leaders as a whole and not just Bohemond.<sup>7</sup> Even so, one would have to be perverse not to note that the balance of the story is the same in his work as in the *Gesta*, that he includes the literary passages, and that he accords a prominent place to Bohemond and the South Italian Normans. Also the standpoint is often that of the *Gesta*, as, for example, when we are told that the imperial official, the *Coropalasum*, came to the South Italian army in the Balkans “ut nos secure deduceret per terram suam”.<sup>8</sup> We do not know whose army Tudebode travelled with but he gives a prominent role to Gaston of Béarn who seems to have led the Poitevins against the amir Kerbogha and is usually associated with the count of Toulouse during the march.<sup>9</sup> This would explain why Tudebode occasionally adds snippets of information to passages which seem to be taken from Raymond of Aguilers. It is

thank him for his help. Since we did this, procedures have been considerably refined and I am encouraged to try again.

<sup>7</sup> GF pp. 7-11, 35-36; PT pp. 15-18, 42-44.

<sup>8</sup> PT pp. 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> PT p. 79; Jonathan S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 78-79.

difficult to isolate Tudebode's standpoint but it coincides so massively with that of the Anonymous as revealed in the *Gesta*, except in his additions which suggest a Provençal alignment, that it is hard to believe in a source other than the Anonymous, supplemented by Raymond of Aguilers, behind his work.

There are three passages in the Anonymous's work as we have it that show signs of disorder. In the account of the meeting of Bohemond and the Byzantine emperor we are told that Alexios promised to Bohemond a principality around Antioch: this is obviously displaced because it divides a passage, but that is not to say, of course, that it was not always part of the work. In the story of the meeting of Raymond of Toulouse with the emperor, the *Gesta* as we have it fails to explain the anger of the count against Alexios by reference to the attack by imperial troops on his army during his absence from it. In the account of the second siege of Antioch, the Anonymous refers to the shortage of food and the building of a wall against the citadel; there follows a rather jumbled sequence of events: the visions of Stephen and Peter Bartholomew, an enemy attack on a tower and the firing of the citadel, and then a repeat of the statement about the building of the wall and the shortage of food.<sup>10</sup> These passages suggest to me that the *Gesta* has been subject to some kind of editing. I would like now to discuss how the writers of the *Gesta* family treated them.

In the manuscripts of Peter Tudebode, the passage dealing with the principality of Antioch occurs twice. The first time is very much in the position we know from the *Gesta*, but no longer dividing a passage, and then it recurs in a later position at the end of the account of events at Constantinople, which is much tidier. This suggests that either it was in Peter's original twice or that he changed its position but his scribe misunderstood a correction. In fact the whole sequence of events at Constantinople is carefully reconstructed by Tudebode around the Anonymous and Raymond of

<sup>10</sup> GF pp. 11-13, 57-62, printed here as Appendix I. On the promise of Antioch, see August C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 57-79.

Aguilers, explaining in the process the anger of the count against Alexios, and this suggests to me that the recurrence is a mistake in his editing. Peter's account was copied by the author of the *Historia Belli Sacri* but he deleted the second mention of the Antioch promise.<sup>11</sup> Baldric of Dol and Robert the Monk miss out any mention of a promise to Bohemond and it is tempting to assume that this reflects a common manuscript tradition different from that used by Tudebode. However, both were also revising considerably and present events at Constantinople in different ways, while clearly using the same basic material. Baldric explains that the count of Toulouse was hostile to Alexios because of attacks on his army, and presents the whole group of leaders taking an oath very like the modified form adopted by Raymond of Toulouse, while Robert provides a highly rhetorical account which combines the *Gesta* story and savage comment on Alexios with the general view of the princes being perfectly willing to take the oath, except for Raymond of Toulouse whose anger and reluctance is never explained. Guibert of Nogent massively reconstructed the Anonymous's account of events at Constantinople, yet adds nothing and includes the Antioch promise more or less in its original position, but set quite differently from the other writers we have mentioned here.<sup>12</sup>

In his account of the second siege of Antioch, Tudebode dispenses with the second account of the building of the wall against the citadel, and the whole sequence of events which lie in between in the *Gesta* is expanded with additional information (about the death of Arverdus Tudebodus, for example) and tidied up. This is further developed by reference to Raymond of Aguilers in the *Historia Belli Sacri*. Robert the Monk also radically revises here, but uses only information to be found in the *Gesta* such as the desertion of Stephen of Blois, and retains the second account of the building of the wall. Guibert retains the *Gesta* story, but at the second mention of the wall reports that they built a castle (*castrum*

<sup>11</sup> PT pp. 18-22; GF pp. 11-13. *Historia Belli Sacri*, RHC Occ. 3:179-80.

<sup>12</sup> BD pp. 24-26; RM pp. 748-50; GN p. 155.

*aedificant*) against the citadel: a rather startling interpretation very characteristic, I think, of Guibert.<sup>13</sup>

The approach of these chroniclers gives us some indication of why it is of little use to pursue an *Ur-Gesta*. Those who used this work were far more than copyists pompously seeking to elevate his style. They conscientiously tried to make sense out of what was before them and (notably Tudebode) had additional knowledge which they were anxious to incorporate. Thus even the temptation suggested by Baldric and Robert the Monk, to see a tradition without the promise of a principality around Antioch to Bohemond, needs to be resisted, because in any radical reconstruction of the story of what happened at Constantinople, this is difficult to place, and each could have chosen to omit it for very different reasons. Again with the second siege of Antioch all these writers were clearly aware of a problem in their source and they took careful and often radical steps to solve the difficulty. In these circumstances it is really impossible to discern a major *Gesta* tradition which has not survived to us, let alone an *Ur-Gesta*, while I frankly think that the idea of yet another source which served the Anonymous, Raymond of Aguilers, Tudebode and perhaps others, yet has left no trace by way of a standpoint, is a fantasy. This is not to say that there is not some evidence of textual variants between the manuscripts which were circulating at the start of the twelfth century. Tudebode tells us that the castle of heretics in the Balkans stood on a lake (and is followed by the *Historia Belli Sacri*), a detail not mentioned by the Anonymous, and also reports that at the battle of Dorylaeum in 1097, the count of Toulouse stood on the right wing of the army and not the left (again followed by the *Historia Belli Sacri*).<sup>14</sup> But even in these cases the differences might be due to Tudebode having additional information deriving from his own experience, and these variants do not recur in the *Gesta* tradition. I think that we must accept that, unless additional information turns up, the text of the

<sup>13</sup> PT pp. 66-71; *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 202-3; RM pp. 814-24; GN pp. 195-98.

<sup>14</sup> GF pp. 8, 20; PT pp. 16, 26; *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 177, 182. It does seem more likely that the count of Toulouse was on the right rather than the left at Dorylaeum.

*Gesta* must stand as it is because we cannot get behind it – there is simply no textual evidence. It is not impossible that other sources existed. There is no proof (as distinct from the superstition of historians) that the *libellus* mentioned by Ekkehard of Aura was actually the *Gesta Francorum*, simply because he never seems to have used it, preferring instead the pre-digested account of the crusade which he found in the letter of Daimbert of Pisa. Even his account of the doings of Godfrey at Constantinople is only superficially like that of the Anonymous and twice, in mentioning the destruction of a suburb and fighting on a bridge, resembles Anna Komnene, as the Recueil editors remarked.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Anonymous of Fleury probably did not use the *Gesta* but based his account on known letters together with other information which may or may not have been obtained from some earlier chronicle.<sup>16</sup> There was in fact enormous interest in the events of the First Crusade and accounts of it were produced or borrowed all over Europe, as the diagram (Appendix II below) shows. Clearly the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* was by far the most widely distributed account, for directly or indirectly it infected virtually every account we have. The sheer competence of Fulcher gave his work considerable popularity, but this is partly based on the *Gesta*: the only other traceable source which supplied a number of lesser accounts are the letters, notably that of Daimbert of Pisa, almost certainly written by Raymond of Aguilers and used by Ekkehard of Aura, the Anonymous of Fleury, Sigebert of Gembloux and through him Robert of Torigni.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, *Hierosolymita*, RHC Occ. 5:21, notes c, d. See also the edition of Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott, *Frotolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik* (Darmstadt, 1972), which will shortly be reissued under the auspices of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

<sup>16</sup> RHC Occ. 5:356-63. The editors overstate the evidence linking it to the *Gesta*.

<sup>17</sup> Ekkehard of Aura, RHC Occ. 5:22-24; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronographia*, MGH SS 6:367-68; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica*, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1889); *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacrae spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1902), pp. 168-74.

The extraordinary popularity of the *Gesta Francorum* in the twelfth century explains why historians have come to treat it as the normal account of the First Crusade. We cannot be certain why it was so available to early twelfth-century users, but it clearly was, and their use was multiplied by later generations. Sheer weight of repetition has dinned the *Gesta* story into us, yet ironically those who used it and transmitted it to us edited and altered the text considerably and this indicates that they saw it as lacking. It must be stressed that many of them tended to add information and did not merely change its style.

In the account of the Anonymous, and therefore of those who used it, there is a very obvious gap in the story of the siege of Antioch – from the building of the Mahommeries tower in March 1098 to the dramatic events of the betrayal of the city to Bohemond – broken only by the building of Tancred's tower.<sup>18</sup> Peter Tudebode tells us that around this time an effort to smash the Bridge Gate with a "mole" failed and that Rainald Porchetum and other prisoners held in Antioch were killed in the sight of the army. What he does not mention is the death of Guy the Constable, which Anselm of Ribemont reports occurred when hopes of betrayal of the city lured him to his death: Guibert of Nogent knew this letter and reported the story also. But Robert the Monk tells it in a somewhat expanded form and adds the lamentations of Guy's wife. There are elements of romance in this tale, but Robert got the essence right, a virtue which is not often granted to him.<sup>19</sup> Moreover this story should be added to that of Albert and the *Historia Belli Sacri* which, at an earlier point in the siege, records efforts to negotiate surrender. Albert tells us that Roger of Barneville gained a considerable reputation for arranging exchanges of prisoners. All in all this sets the affair of Pirrus and his betrayal of the city in an interesting context, but one that is usually ignored. We need to consider the *Gesta* derivatives rather more seriously than we do and try to understand the way in which they were written.

Now clearly it would not be possible to examine all of them here, so I would simply like to look rather more closely at the

<sup>18</sup> GF pp. 43-44.

<sup>19</sup> PT pp. 50-51; *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 157-60; GN p. 252; RM p. 794.

*Historia Belli Sacri* which has, I think, received very cursory treatment indeed.<sup>20</sup> In the tenth and eleventh centuries the monastery of Monte Cassino had a powerful tradition of contact with Jerusalem. Sections of the *Gesta Francorum* were incorporated into the important chronicle of the house.<sup>21</sup> But towards the year 1130 an unknown monk wrote a very extensive history of the First Crusade and the early years of the Antiochene principality, which Runciman and Cahen mention as being based on the *Gesta* and the work of Radulph of Caen.<sup>22</sup> In fact the author also used Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent.<sup>23</sup> This was a serious and careful effort to rework the *Gesta* story and add to it significant information which is not found in any other source.

The *Historia Belli Sacri* may have been written off as a “clumsy compilation”, but some of the information it gives us has been extensively used – it is by far our most extensive source on the negotiations between the First Crusade and the Egyptians, which other sources do little more than hint at, and recent writing has offered a prominent place to this.<sup>24</sup> But why has this been chosen for rescue, while other elements of information have not? Really, we have to say that it is because it is so useful and fills a big gap in our knowledge, but that is hardly taking a critical view of a source. The

<sup>20</sup> The edition to be used here is cited above, n. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Leo Marsicannus and Petrus Diaconus, *Die Chronik von Monte Cassino*, ed. Heinrich Hoffmann, MGH SS 34:189, 190, 200-1, 206, 229, 236, 262, 312, 368, 438, 475-86.

<sup>22</sup> Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 8-9; Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951-54), 1:330.

<sup>23</sup> *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969) [RA]; *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 178-80 (= RA pp. 36-42), p. 183 (= RA p. 45), p. 185 (= RA p. 46), pp. 201-2 (= RA pp. 67-69), pp. 209-10 (= RA pp. 101-2); *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 169-70 (= RM pp. 674-75); *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 169-70 (= GN p. 149); *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 193-94 (= PT pp. 50-51, 67).

<sup>24</sup> Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204* (Oxford, 1994); Michael A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1991).

*Historia Belli Sacri* is a rich source of information about the journey of Bohemond to Constantinople where it says that he stayed in the suburb of Sancti Argenti, and Hagenmeyer long ago noted that Bohemond departed from Italy around 26 October 1096, but historians have been notably slow to wonder why he then spent six months crossing the Balkans, a distance managed by the much bigger army of the Provençals in somewhat less than half that time – possibly it is because we choose to ignore this *Gesta*-derivative.<sup>25</sup> There is occasionally a romance element in the stories incorporated, particularly in the suggestion that all the leaders were at the council of Clermont and begged the pope to lead them, while the story of the miraculous image of Christ in the cathedral of Antioch which defied Turkish attempts to riddle it with arrows hardly rings true. The story of a Muslim convert to Christianity, Hilary, turning his coat and revealing the army's weakness to Ridwan of Aleppo, only to be killed in the aftermath of this potentate's defeat at the Lake Battle, has a similar ring.<sup>26</sup> But the report that the amir Yaghisiyan expelled Christians from Antioch at the start of the siege has been widely accepted – why not the circumstantial story of the attempt to obtain the surrender of Antioch through a captured amir? I have noted earlier the history of to-ing and fro-ing between the two sides at Antioch which gives a context for this story. Again it is a nice detail that on the fall of the city the women of Antioch rushed to liberate their patriarch, whose legs would not support him after long confinement in a cage.<sup>27</sup>

I do not wish to go through the *Historia Belli Sacri* analysing all its passages and defending them, and it must be said that the story after Arqa is almost entirely lifted from Radulph of Caen. I am anxious not to appear as merely the champion of this neglected source, though it needs and deserves one. I think that we need to look at all the *Gesta*-derivatives and try to see them as something in their own right. The earlier ones were written in an age when there

<sup>25</sup> Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade* (Paris, 1902), p. 45; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 106-7, 116.

<sup>26</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 169-70, 195, 190.

<sup>27</sup> *Historia Belli Sacri*, pp. 189, 196-97.



were survivors of the First Crusade, and the additional information they contain may be more credible than we have supposed. In this context it is good news that Guibert is the subject of a full-scale edition by R. B. C. Huygens<sup>28</sup>, but this will have less impact than the edition of Albert of Aachen which will provide us with a view of the events of the crusade in no way dependent on the *Gesta Francorum*.

*University of Wales, Swansea*

<sup>28</sup> Guibertus abbas S. Mariae Nogenti, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 127A (Turnhout, 1996).

## APPENDIX I

Anomalies in the *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962)

1. The Antioch Promise (pp. 11-12)

[vi] Cum imperator audisset honestissimum virum Boamundum ad se uenisse, iussit eum honorabiliter recipi, et caute hospitari extra urbem. Quo hospitato, imperator misit pro eo, ut ueniret loqui simul secreto secum. Tunc illuc uenit dux Godefridus cum fratre suo; ac deinde comes Sancti Egidii appropinquauit ciuitati. Tunc imperator anxians et bulliens ira, cogitabat quemadmodum callide fraudulenterque comprehenderet hos Christi milites. Sed diuina gratia reuelante, neque locus neque nocendi spatium ab eo uel a suis inuenta sunt. Nouissime uero congregati omnes maiores natu qui Constantinopoli erant, timentes ne sua priuarentur patria, reppererunt in suis consiliis atque ingeniosis scematibus quod nostrorum duces, comites, seu omnes maiores imperatori sacramentum fideliter facere deberent. Quia omnino prohibuerunt, dixeruntque: "Certe indigni sumus, atque iustum nobis uidetur nullatenus ei sacramentum iurare".

Forsitan adhuc a nostris maioribus sepe delusi erimus. Ad ultimum quid facturi erunt? Dicent quoniam necessitate compulsi nolentes uolentesquea humiliauerunt – se ad nequissimi imperatoris uoluntatem.

[Fortissimo autem uiro Boamundo quem ualde timebat, quia olim eum sepe cum suo exercitu eiecerat de campo dixit, quoniam si libenter ei iuraret, quindecim dies eundi terrae in extensione ab Antiochia retro daret, et octo in latitudine. Eique tali modo iurauit, ut si ille fideliter teneret illud sacramentum, iste suum nunquam preteriret.] Tam fortes et tam duri milites, cur hoc fecerunt? Propterea igitur, quia multa coacti erant necessitate.

Imperator quoque omnibus nostris fidem et securitatem dedit, iurauit etiam quia ueniret nobiscum pariter cum suo exercitu per terram et per mare; et nobis mercatum terra marique fideliter daret, ac omnia

nostra perdita diligenter restauraret, insuper et neminem nostrorum peregrinorum conturbari uel contristari in uia Sancti Sepulchri uellet aut permitteret.

2. The Anger of the Count of Toulouse (p. 13)

Comes autem Sancti Egidii erat hospitatus extra ciuitatem in burgo, gensque sua remanserat retro. Mandauit itaque imperator comiti, ut faceret ei hominum et fiduciam sicut alii fecerant. Et dum imperator haec mandabat, comes meditabatur qualiter uindictam de imperatoris exercitu habere posset. Sed dux Godefridus et Rotbertus comes Flandrensis aliique principes dixerunt ei, iniustum fore, contra Christianos pugnare.

3. The Building of the Wall at Antioch (pp. 57 and 62)

Nos denique qui remansimus nequiuimus sufferre pondus armorum illorum, fecimusque murum inter nos et illos, quem custodiebamus diu noctuque. Interea tanta oppressione fuimus oppressi, ut equos et asinos nostros manducaremus.

*There then follows:*

The vision of the Priest Stephen

The oath of the Leaders

The vision of Peter Bartholomew

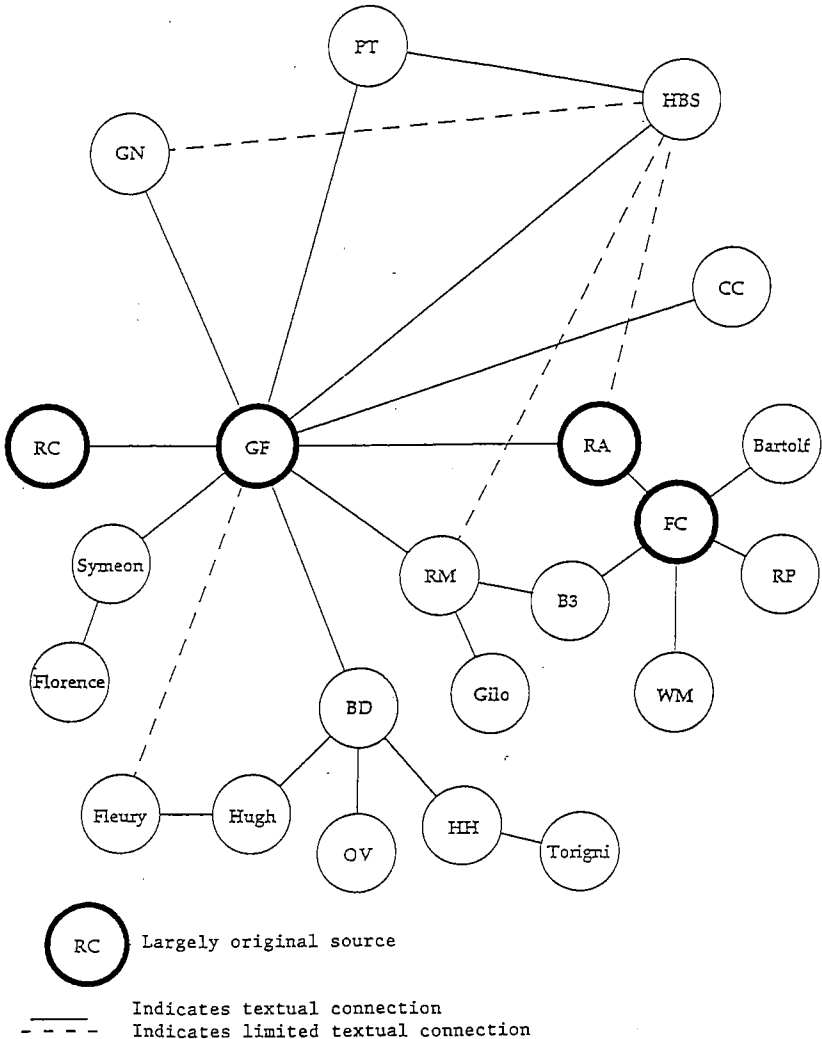
Fighting around the citadel and the Beserker

The firing of Antioch by Bohemond

Itaque Turci habitantes in castello, intra urbem bellabant nobiscum die noctuque, et nichil aliud disseperabat nos nisi arma. Videntes hoc nostri, quod non possent diu haec pati, quoniam qui habebat panem non licebat ei manducare, et qui habebat aquam non licebat bibere, fecerunt murum inter nos et ipsos petra et calce, et edificauerunt castellum et machinas, ut securi essent. Pars autem Turcorum remansit in castello agendo nobiscum bellum, allia uero pars hospitata erat prope catellum in una valle.

## APPENDIX II

## THE GESTA FAMILY



GN=Guibert of Nogent : PT=Peter Tudebode : HBS=Historia Belli Sacri : RA=Raymond of Aguilers  
 CC=Chronicon Casinensis : WM=William of Malmesbury : RP=Richard of Poitiers : B3=Historia Nicena  
 RM=Robert the Monk : HH=Henry of Huntingdon : Torigni=Robert of Torigni : BD=Baldry of Dol  
 OV=Ordericus Vitalis: Hugh=Hugh of St Marie : Fleury=Narratio Floriacensis : Florence=John of Worcester  
 Symeon=Symeon of Durham : RC=Ralph of Caen

Diagram by Dr R.Syaberlist, IT Services, University of Wales Swansea.

# Preacher of the First Crusade? Robert of Arbrissel after the Council of Clermont

J. M. B. Porter

After having preached the sermons that heralded the first crusade, Pope Urban II left Clermont on 27 November 1095 and began a tour of central France to preach his new crusading message and to encourage the reform of the French church. It was on this tour that he visited Angers in February 1096 and met the celebrated wandering preacher Robert of Arbrissel. Modern scholars of the crusades, looking at the evidence from a crusading standpoint, have long assumed that Urban commissioned Robert to preach the crusade,<sup>1</sup> but there is no contemporary evidence to support this claim; his preaching centred on marriage and clerical reform, the abandonment of the world, and voluntary poverty.<sup>2</sup> He played an

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951-54), 1:113, 115 n. 2. I should like to thank Prof. Bernard Hamilton (University of Nottingham) for the suggestions and advice he has given me in the course of preparing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes von Walter, *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs: Studien zur Geschichte des Mönchtums* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 119-20; Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), p. 33. The main primary sources for the life of Robert of Arbrissel are the two contemporary *vitae*: Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti de Arbrisello*, PL

important role as a peace-maker, and like many other itinerant preachers of his time, including Vitalis of Savigny, Norbert of Xanten, and Bernard of Tiron, Robert often acted as a mediator in disputes: for example, he intervened to settle a dispute between Bishop Ivo of Chartres and a local abbot, and after Ivo's death, he reconciled the canons of Chartres with the local count, who had fallen out over the election of a new bishop.<sup>3</sup>

No early source tells us whether Peter the Hermit, the one wandering preacher whom we do know preached the crusade, was at the Council of Clermont, but it is clear that shortly afterwards he was preaching the crusade in France, and "with dizzying speed he gathered a substantial number of knights and footsoldiers and set out across Hungary".<sup>4</sup> Peter preached in Amiens, which is not far from Saint-Germain-de-Fly, the monastery where Guibert was a monk, so it is possible that Guibert of Nogent writes from first-hand experience having seen Peter preach.<sup>5</sup> Guibert's description of Peter's mission is strikingly similar to accounts of the popular preaching movements that were beginning to flourish in northern France, led

162:1043-58 and Andrew of Fontevault, *Vita Altera B. Roberti de Arbrissello*, PL 162:1057-78. The most important secondary studies of Robert of Arbrissel are Jean-Marc Bienvenu, *L'étonnant fondateur de Fontevraud* (Paris, 1981); Jacques Dalarun, *Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud* (Paris, 1986); and Dalarun, *L'impossible sainteté* (Paris, 1985), which has a comprehensive bibliography. Three shorter studies provide a good introduction to the life and works of Robert of Arbrissel in English: Jacqueline Smith, "Robert of Arbrissel: *Procurator Mulierum*", in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 175-84; Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin* (Chicago, 1985); and, most recently, W. Scott Jessee, "Robert of Arbrissel: Aristocratic Patronage and the Question of Heresy", *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 221-235.

<sup>3</sup> Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1991), p. 137; Andrew of Fontevault, *Vita altera B. Roberti*, pp. 1063-65.

<sup>4</sup> Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolymitana*, in J. E. Cronin, "And the Reapers are Angels" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York, 1973), 99; cited in M. D. Coupe, "Peter the Hermit – A Reassessment", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987), 37-45 (here 39).

<sup>5</sup> Ernest O. Blake and Colin Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade", *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 79-108 (here 83).

by charismatic preachers that included Robert of Arbrissel and his disciples. Although it has long been seen as a description of how the First Crusade was assembled, it has none of the features of a recruiting drive; furthermore, Peter used campaign funds as dowries for prostitutes and gave money to the poor.<sup>6</sup> According to Guibert, Peter left his hermitage “with what intention I do not know” and that he went around the cities “on the pretext of preaching”.<sup>7</sup> Guibert’s description of Peter’s preaching sounds less like a recruiting mission than the work of a popular preacher from a monastic perspective, and he shows the scorn expected from a monk faced with unauthorised preaching. Guibert’s account of Peter the Hermit’s pre-crusade preaching is remarkably similar to descriptions of the poverty and preaching missions undertaken by Robert of Arbrissel and his disciples.

Robert’s perception of the apostolic life led him to renounce the world whilst leading a mendicant life of active evangelism. His preaching attracted men and women from all backgrounds who sought to retire from the world; they found seclusion in the forest of Craon, where they devoted themselves to an extremely austere life of solitude, voluntary poverty, and the contemplation of God.<sup>8</sup> A vast woodland stretching from the borders of Brittany into Maine, the forest of Craon became the home for many twelfth-century hermits: it was described by Gaufridus Grossus, the biographer of Robert’s contemporary Bernard of Tiron, as “a new Egypt, blossoming with a multitude of hermits”.<sup>9</sup> However, his personal vision of the apostolic life was never translated into what became his most significant monastic foundation, the monastic order that grew from his original double house at Fontevrault.

He was born in Arbrissel, a village close to the Angevin frontier near Rennes, sometime in the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>10</sup> His father, Damalioch, was a priest, as was his father

<sup>6</sup> GN p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> GN p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, pp. 1049-50.

<sup>9</sup> Gaufridus Grossus, *Vita Bernardi Tironensis*, PL 172:1381.

<sup>10</sup> His exact date of birth is a matter of some controversy: see Smith, *Procurator Mulierum*, p. 176, for details.

before him; Robert's mother, Orguende, may have been of aristocratic birth, perhaps the sister of the crusader Fulk de Mateflon, a lieutenant of Fulk le Réchin.<sup>11</sup> Baldric of Dol wrote that he was of modest origins and that his family was poor and humble (*indigena et colonus*),<sup>12</sup> which I believe to be more of a hagiographic convention than a description of his ancestry, for as Grundmann has demonstrated, voluntary poverty can only be a religious response to those with wealth to renounce.<sup>13</sup>

Very little is known about Robert's life until his studies took him to Paris during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-85).<sup>14</sup> Bienvenu alleges that he was married and took up his father's benefice; although there is no concrete evidence to support either of these suppositions, in the case of the former, a letter from Marbode of Rennes alludes to a sin against chastity which could be a reference to Robert taking a wife.<sup>15</sup> It seems likely that he was

<sup>11</sup> A charter of Fulk le Réchin, dated 30 November 1100, confirms a donation to the monks of St Nicholas of Angers by Fulk de Mateflon, and mentions the latter's nephew Robert of Arbrissel: see "Catalogue des Actes de Foulque Nerra, Geoffroi Martel, Geoffroi le Barbu, et Foulque le Réchin", in Louis Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), no. 293, p. 330; I am grateful to Prof. Jonathan Riley-Smith for drawing this reference to my attention. I have been unable to consult the Cartulary of St Nicholas in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 22450. The Fontevault necrology states that Robert had a brother named Fulk, which may be a further indication of this relationship: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1840-1904), 4:188-94.

<sup>12</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1046.

<sup>13</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995), pp. 69-74.

<sup>14</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1047.

<sup>15</sup> Bienvenu, *L'étonnant fondateur*, p. 24. Marbode of Rennes, *Epistola* 6, PL 171:1481, which states "mulierum cohabitationem, in quo genere quondam peccasti". Given Robert's practice of syneisaktism, this statement is inconclusive: it could also refer to his sleeping habits with his female disciples, which is a possibility I have explored elsewhere. For a discussion of the ascetical practice known as syneisaktism or *mulierum consortia*, as practiced in Brittany, see Louis Gougaud, "Mulierum consortia, étude sur le synéisaktisme chez les ascètes celtiques", *Eriu* 9 (1921-23), 147-56. This practice also appears in the *Conferences* of John Cassian: see Jean Cassian, *Conférences*, ed. and



ordained in Paris, although the date of his ordination remains unknown; he must have been ordained by 1089, when he returned to Brittany at the request of Sylvester de la Guerche, the reforming bishop of Rennes, who summoned Robert to his diocese to become archpriest of the cathedral church. Robert spent four years there, “making peace between quarrellers, liberating churches from slavery to the laity, separating the incestuous unions of priest and laity, opposing simony, and manfully opposing all sins”.<sup>16</sup> Robert’s zeal in ridding the church of corruption and abuse earned him many enemies and he was forced to leave Rennes after Sylvester’s death in 1093. He then spent two years in the cathedral school in Angers, where he became well-known locally for both his ascetic way of life and for his skilful preaching. His fame for preaching spread rapidly: he was described by William of Malmesbury as “the most famous and eloquent preacher of those times”.<sup>17</sup> Wishing to devote himself to contemplation, he and a fellow priest retired to the forest of Craon in 1095, where he practised a life of severe and solitary asceticism, combining mortification of the flesh – he wore a hair shirt studded with iron under the rags he wore as clothes – with prayer and contemplation.<sup>18</sup> The severity of his life provoked a letter from Ivo of Chartres, warning him of the grave dangers of taking on the life of single combat before becoming experienced as a fighter in the ranks.<sup>19</sup> However, Robert’s solitude was not long-lived, for his asceticism, eloquence, and piety soon attracted a large number of

trans. E. Pichery (Paris, 1958), 2:219-20. See also Dominique Iogna-Prat, “La Femme dans la perspective pénitentielle des ermites du Bas-Maine (fin XIe – début XIIe siècle)”, *Revue d’histoire de la spiritualité* 53 (1977), 47-64.

<sup>16</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, pp. 1048-49.

<sup>17</sup> William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, RS 90, 2 vols (London, 1889), 2:512.

<sup>18</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1049.

<sup>19</sup> Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola*, PL 162:46. See also the edition, with French translation, by Jean Leclercq, *Yves de Chartres: Correspondance (1090-1098)* (Paris, 1949), 34, pp. 138-41. Although Jean Leclercq proposed that the Robert to whom Ivo addressed this letter was probably a canon of Saint-Quentin (Leclercq, *Correspondance*, pp. 138-39 n. 9), it is thought by most scholars to be Robert of Arbrissel; see, for example, Charles Dereine’s review of Leclercq’s *Yves de Chartres*, in *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 318.

followers who sought to live in the manner of the primitive church.<sup>20</sup>

Pope Urban II toured France for a year between August 1095 and September 1096, primarily to revitalise the church reform movement there, but also to preach the crusade.<sup>21</sup> During this tour, he visited Angers between 6 and 10 February 1096 to re-dedicate the church of St Nicholas of Angers and, in an important ceremony for Count Fulk le Réchin, to translate the body of Count Geoffrey Martel into the nave of the church. According to Baldric's *Vita*, Robert was summoned from his self-imposed eremitical exile in the forest of Craon and commanded him to preach; after a remarkable extemporaneous sermon, Urban realised that Robert was inspired by the Holy Spirit and charged him to preach throughout Christendom, appointing him "preacher second only to himself as a sower of the Word of God in men's hearts with orders to travel everywhere in the performance of his duty".<sup>22</sup>

However, Robert did not immediately undertake the preaching tour that such a commission would seem to indicate. Instead, he became the first abbot of La Roë, a community of Augustinian canons that was established in the nearby forest of Craon the day after the pope's visit to Angers. Even after his appointment as abbot, his pious reputation continued to attract a large number of converts to join Robert at La Roë; the constant flow of postulants led the canons of that house to complain that their abbot was causing their house to become overcrowded and their resources overstretched.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The eremitic movement that sprang up in north-western France in this time is discussed more fully in L. Raison and René Niderst, "Le mouvement érémitique dans l'Ouest de la France à la fin du XIe siècle et au début du XIIe siècle", *Annales de Bretagne* 55 (1948), 1-46. For a description of life in the forest of Craon around 1096, see the *Vita Bernardi Tironensis*, PL 172:1380, as well as the *Vita Vitalis*, ed. E. P. Sauvage, *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1882), 355-390 (here 381).

<sup>21</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, pp. 1050-51.

<sup>23</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1051. It seems that Robert's women followers were sent to Robert's disciple Solomon, who established a series of

In 1098, after only two years as abbot and with the consent of the canons of La Roë and the bishop of Angers, he resigned his abbacy and devoted himself strictly to public preaching. According to his biographer, he “went away freely, that he could be free to preach”.<sup>24</sup>

Thus Robert did not return to preaching in earnest until two years after Urban had granted him a *licentia praedicandi*, which casts a great deal of doubt upon the theory that the pope had licensed Robert’s preaching in order to enlist his support in recruiting for the First Crusade. Such a narrow interpretation of the evidence overlooks the importance of popular preachers in the twelfth-century monastic reform and the broad popular appeal of the eremitic life. Robert’s central message was repentance; his ministry embraced the women and lepers that Urban discouraged from joining the crusade.

Robert praised the virtues of voluntary poverty and promoted both marital and clerical reform, often verging on anti-clericalism. His outspoken and vehement preaching attacking the vices of the clergy earned him both popular support and clerical condemnation. The criticism of Bishop Marbode of Rennes is clear:

in the sermons in which you are in the habit of teaching the vulgar crowds and unlearned men, not only, as is fitting, do you rebuke the vices of those who are present, but you also list, denounce, and attack, as is not fitting, the crimes of absent ecclesiastics ... but perhaps it suits you that when in the opinion of the common people the Church’s order is grown vile, you alone and your like are held in esteem.<sup>25</sup>

Baldric states that the pope had heard of Robert and asked him to preach, which seems unlikely.<sup>26</sup> Given the importance to Count Fulk le Réchin of the re-dedication of St Nicholas of Angers, it appears

more-or-less temporary nunneries until the foundation of Nyoiseau in 1109; see Bienvenu, *L’étonnant fondateur*, p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1051.

<sup>25</sup> Marbode of Rennes, *Epistola* 6, PL 171:1484.

<sup>26</sup> Jessee, “Robert d’Arbrissel), p. 228; Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, pp. 1050-51.

that Robert was functioning more or less as a comital chaplain, and was probably chosen to preach by the count himself.<sup>27</sup> The influence of Rainald of Craon can probably be seen here: Robert had established a hermitage on Rainald's lands, and Rainald donated the site of La Roë to Robert. Rainald was the son of the lord of Sablé, Robert the Burgundian, one of Fulk le Réchin's most trusted *fideles*, and was also a kinsman of Geoffrey of Vendôme, whom it is likely that Robert met whilst studying at the cathedral school at Angers. Geoffrey's influence would also have been important, and the two were close friends, despite Geoffrey's later infamous letter condemning some of Robert's more extreme ascetical practices, and he addressed Robert as *carissimus* and *venerabilis frater*, and spoke of Robert's *simplicitas germanae caritatis*.<sup>28</sup>

It is probable that Rainald of Craon played an important role in planning the pope's visit, since his father hosted the papal entourage at Sablé after it left Angers.<sup>29</sup> Certainly Rainald acted as Robert's patron and benefactor after Urban's visit, for the day after the translation of Geoffrey Martel's remains, Rainald and his three sons donated land and an abandoned church in the woods near the *castrum* of Craon which formed the initial endowment of La Roë; in a private ceremony the next day, the pope himself confirmed the gift by laying his hands upon the charter.<sup>30</sup>

Was the establishment of La Roë an attempt by Pope Urban to harness the powerful spiritual feelings that Robert represented into the "official" reform movement of the time, one that was both more conventional and less anti-clerical than that espoused by Robert? Baldric of Dol records that Robert was hesitant about accepting Urban's licence to preach, and in light of this Jean-Marc Bienvenu

<sup>27</sup> Robert's contemporary and fellow itinerant preacher Vitalis of Savigny was a comital chaplain before he began his preaching career.

<sup>28</sup> Jules de Pétigny, "Robert d'Arbrissel et Geoffroi de Vendôme", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, ser. 3, 15 (1854), 15. Geoffrey's letter was instrumental in preventing Robert's canonisation; for this, see J. M. B. Porter, "Fontevrault Looks Back at her Founder: Reform and the Three Attempts to Canonise Robert of Arbrissel", *Studies in Church History* 33 (1997), 361-77.

<sup>29</sup> Urban II, *Privilegium* 175, PL 151:447-49, which is dated Sablé, 17 February 1096.

<sup>30</sup> *Cartularium ND La Roë*, ed. A. Angot (Mayenne, 1904), no. 1, fo. 34v.

has observed that what is licensed is also controlled, and that Urban's licence to preach was granted as much to demonstrate Urban's authority as his approval.<sup>31</sup>

Bienvenu has proposed that Rainald of Craon's grant of La Roë was an attempt to keep Robert within the bounds of church authority and away from any possible deviation into heresy, and that this donation was not to Robert's benefit, as it tied Robert to one place, gave him significant obligations and responsibilities, and put him under the authority of Geoffrey of Mayenne, the incompetent and simoniac bishop of Angers.<sup>32</sup> However, Robert's band of followers was growing rapidly and he needed a place where they could live together, preferably under a rule, and the disused and isolated church Rainald granted to them was ideal for their purposes. Furthermore, having been granted papal permission to preach, Robert was able to continue his reform mission without interference from his bishop.

It seems clear that Robert of Arbrissel used his papal authority to preach in order to promote the reform movement, not preach the First Crusade. The crusade is not mentioned in Baldric of Dol's *Vita B. Roberti*; Baldric was also the author of the *Historia Jerosolimitana*, which includes an account of Urban's sermon at Clermont which launched the crusade. Likewise, the *Historia Jerosolimitana* does not mention Robert of Arbrissel.<sup>33</sup>

The reaction to one of Robert's sermons is recorded by Baldric, himself a preacher of some repute, in a passage that has been cited in support of Robert of Arbrissel's crusade preaching:

Unde factum est ut eo [i.e. Robert] audito multi corda sua percuterent, suisque pravis conversationibus abrenuntiarent. Alii domum suam revertebantur, praedicationibus eius meliorati, alii secum demorari cupiebant, eiusque famulatui

<sup>31</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1050; Bienvenu, *L'étonnant fondateur*, p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> Bienvenu, *L'étonnant fondateur*, pp. 42-47.

<sup>33</sup> BD pp. 5-111.

deservire, et irremoti consodales ei adhaerere  
rogitabant.<sup>34</sup>

The text of this sermon was apparently *Qui audit, dicat, veni* (Revelation 22:17), here from the Authorised Version:

And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

While this could be seen as a crusading theme, I believe it to be a call not to crusade, but for Robert's audience to join him in the eremitical life.<sup>35</sup> His preaching was evidently successful, for Robert left La Roë around 1098 after complaints from the canons of that house that he had overcrowded it with converts from preaching. In this sermon, Robert is emphasising that the apostolic life is open to all; their origins or rank in society are unimportant to God. Robert's inclusive vision of the monastic life continued at Fontevrault, where "they accepted the poor and did not repel the weak, nor did they refuse incestuous women, concubines, lepers, or the powerless".<sup>36</sup> In this sermon, he is not calling on his audience to take up arms and join the crusade, but instead to join God's ranks by joining him in living the apostolic life. From the context of this sermon in Baldric's *Vita*, it seems that this sermon was not the one preached at Angers. Two chapters later, we come to Baldric's announcement that Robert was granted a papal commission to preach (*seminiverbum*). This was probably on 10 February 1096. Robert was at La Roë on 12 February 1096, where he is listed as *de clericis in prefata ecclesia sub regula degentibus* ("a cleric in the aforesaid house living under a rule").<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1050. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1:113, 115 n. 2, refers to this page of the *Vita B. Roberti*; it is explicitly cited in favour of Robert preaching the crusade by John France, "A Critical Edition of the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1967), p. XIX.

<sup>35</sup> According to his biographer, Bernard of Tiron used this text for the same purpose: Gaufridus Grossus, *Vita Bernardi Tironensis*, PL 172:1396.

<sup>36</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1055.

<sup>37</sup> *Cartularium ND La Roë*, no. 1, fo. 34v.

If, contrary to the surviving evidence, he was in fact commissioned to preach the crusade, it seems unlikely that his first act after being granted a *licentia praedicandi* would be to establish a house of Augustinian canons in an isolated forest and become their abbot. He served as abbot of La Roë for two years, where his reputation attracted a large number of converts who desired to live the religious life under his guidance. His bishop, an opponent of the Gregorian reform and no doubt glad to be rid of a charismatic proponent of ecclesiastical reform, granted his request to leave La Roë, and Robert returned to his former peripatetic way of life until he founded Fontevrault at the turn of the twelfth century.<sup>38</sup>

The preaching of the crusade at Clermont in November 1095 has overshadowed Urban's role in the continuation of the Gregorian reform, and it is often forgotten that an important part of Urban's preaching tour after the Council of Clermont was to encourage the reform of the French church. Robert's commission to preach needs to be re-evaluated in light of Urban's part in the late eleventh-century reform movement, and given his support of the poverty and preaching movement, Urban's endorsement of Robert's preaching should be seen not as part of the launch of the First Crusade but rather as an attempt to bypass episcopal resistance to the Gregorian reform.

### *Indianapolis*

<sup>38</sup>Baldric of Dol, *Vita B. Roberti*, p. 1051.

# Albert of Aachen Reappraised

Susan B. Edgington

Of all the contemporary histories of the First Crusade, Albert of Aachen's is by far the longest. The Recueil pagination gives some idea of the size of the work: the *Gesta Francorum* occupy 45 pages; Raymond of Aguilers has 80 pages, and Fulcher of Chartres, who takes the story up to 1127, fills 176 pages. Albert needs 550.<sup>1</sup> The Latin text of the *Historia* comprises some 120,000 words; an English translation over 180,000. Size, of course, is not everything, since a long work could be dull and derivative, but Albert's *Historia* is also the most complete, the most detailed and the most colourful narrative of the First Crusade and of the careers of the first generation of Latin settlers in the east.

The three works just cited – the *Gesta*, Raymond and Fulcher – are the holy trinity of First Crusade sources, being authentic eyewitness accounts of many of the events they narrate. Albert of Aachen does not have the same status, since he never went to the East. Yet it is in his pages that the fullest account of the crusade is to be found. He is the only detailed source for the story of Peter the Hermit and his followers on the “popular crusade” of 1096 (Book I), and for Duke Godfrey's march across Europe (Book II). He is the most detailed source for much that follows, including the sieges of Nicaea, Antioch and Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> See RHC Occ.: *Gesta Francorum*, 3:119-64; Raymond of Aguilers, 3:231-309; Fulcher of Chartres, 3:310-486; Albert of Aachen, 4:265-814.



Thus historians of certain aspects of the crusade have long found Albert's narrative indispensable. Their concern, of course, has been to evaluate his reliability. As an example, research by A. A. Beaumont in the 1920s established that the wealth of detail Albert gives concerning Baldwin of Boulogne and the county of Edessa

deserves a considerable amount of credence ... his reports are the longest, the most detailed, and are substantially true, as far as they can be checked up ... Without Albert of Aachen we should have great difficulty in explaining clearly the progress of the Franks in North Syria and we should lack much information concerning the methods of the Franks in winning their foothold in the East.<sup>2</sup>

Charles W. David carried out an equally detailed examination of Albert's evidence with regard to Lattakieh, and he concluded that, in spite of internal contradictions, Albert's evidence was indispensable.<sup>3</sup>

For the twenty years following the capture of Jerusalem, 1099-1119, Albert's only serious competitor is Fulcher of Chartres, and though Fulcher was in a strong position to give a first-hand account of events – and when he does it is invaluable – his work is often disappointing, with even his descriptions of natural history derived from Solinus.<sup>4</sup> Albert, on the other hand, can frequently only be checked against eastern writers. His sources seem to have been – as before – returning travellers, and since there were many fewer of these after 1100 his account becomes less detailed. It takes on something of the nature of annals or chronicles. Most strikingly, it loses the admixture of legendary material: this is a clear indication of Albert's method of composition, which was synthesis rather than

<sup>2</sup> André Alden Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 137-38.

<sup>3</sup> Charles W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), p. 235ff; cf. Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204* (Oxford, 1993), Appendix I, pp. 259-76.

<sup>4</sup> It should be added that Walter the Chancellor's *Bella Antiochena* provides unique information concerning the county of Antioch, c. 1115-22.

analysis. The effect is sober and reliable. It is fair to say that our knowledge of events in the period of early settlement would be much the poorer without Albert's *Historia*. As an instance: Albert has long been recognised as the major historian of the 1101 "crusade" (Book VIII).<sup>5</sup>

It is worth underlining that, throughout, Albert's *Historia* is an independent account. One may contrast other authors writing at much the same time and also in the West: Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol and Guibert of Nogent.<sup>6</sup> All of these relied heavily on the *Gesta Francorum* for their description of events. As far as can be ascertained, Albert did not use any source now extant for his history (Hagenmeyer's claim that Albert knew both Fulcher of Chartres' work and the *Gesta Francorum* cannot be sustained – it requires Albert to have used such tiny fragments and ignored so much else in the narratives).<sup>7</sup> There is some persuasive evidence for Albert's having used poetic sources, in particular the *Chanson d'Antioche*, but if he did so, it was in a primitive form, by "Richard the Pilgrim", and this does not now survive.<sup>8</sup>

At this point it is necessary to raise the question of the "lost Lotharingian chronicle", a long-running debate about whether Albert used a written prose source, now lost. This has been a matter for debate for over 150 years, but the existence of a written Lotharingian source has not been convincingly demonstrated. Even if it

<sup>5</sup> See Alec Mulinder, "Albert of Aachen and the Crusade of 1101", in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> RHC Occ.: Robert the Monk, 3:717-882; Baldric of Dol, 4:1-112; Guibert of Nogent, 4:113-264. A new edition of Guibert is now available: Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Robert Huygens (Turnhout, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), pp. 62-68; cf. Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque Antioche* (Paris, 1940), p. 12 n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, "La Composition de la Chanson d'Antioche", *Romania* 83 (1962), 1-29 and 210-47; *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris, 1977). For a challenging re-interpretation of the relationship, see Robert F. Cook, "Chanson d'Antioche", *Chanson de Geste: Le Cycle de la Croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam, 1980).

were, then such a demonstration would in no way improve or detract from Albert's reliability as a source, which can only be established by reference to external comparisons. We are not dealing here with a case like that of Orderic Vitalis, who can be shown to have drawn certain information from Baldric of Dol, who in turn used the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>9</sup> In Orderic's case both of the antecedent texts survive and can be examined. Albert, whatever his sources, can only be evaluated as the *Historia* stands, using accepted critical methods. Albert's sources seem to have been oral accounts from eye-witnesses, which he says he used, oral and/or written *chansons*, and written fragments. His independence should be valued, rather than treated as grounds for suspicion.

As a function of Albert's independence, his *Historia* has a different focus, or bias, from the better-known narratives of the crusade. It has long been held as a truism that Albert wrote the *Historia* as a panegyric of Godfrey of Bouillon. Aubé, for example, in his 1985 biography of Godfrey, said this was "le but avoué" of Albert's work, and he quoted in support "la phrase liminaire" of the *Historia: super passagio Godefridi de Bullione, et aliorum Principum*.<sup>10</sup> But these words had no place in the early manuscripts and appeared only in a copy from 1390.<sup>11</sup> The simplified view of the *Historia* which sees it as a consciously slanted account of Godfrey and the house of Bouillon is not sustained by an objective reading of the text. As a simple example of how Albert has been misrepresented in this regard, there is the case of Godfrey and the bear. In later authors this incident, which took place in Syria in the summer of 1097 and as a result of which Godfrey was mortally wounded, is represented as a heroic and single-handed fight in defence of a poor pilgrim. According to Albert, Godfrey does indeed go to the rescue of a poor peasant, but his injury – a slashed femoral artery – is sustained when he trips over his own sword. He is himself rescued by one of his knights (III, 4).

<sup>9</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), 5:xiii-xix.

<sup>10</sup> Pierre Aubé, *Godefroy de Bouillon* (Paris, 1985), p. 357.

<sup>11</sup> MS London, British Library, Add. 25440.

Albert's attitude to Godfrey and the house of Bouillon therefore falls short of adulation. It is the natural outcome of his living in the Rhineland region, as the evidence suggests was the case. Not only did he obtain his information from followers of Godfrey and Baldwin, but his putative audience was also made up of people primarily interested in their exploits. Thus Albert supplied a detailed description of Godfrey's journey from Bouillon to Constantinople, the only contemporary historian to do so (Book II), and in the following and later books he recounted Baldwin's career in Edessa, giving a level of detail not found in other sources.

Because Albert focused on Godfrey's role in the expedition, he tended to play down by comparison the role of others. Thus, for example, he did not give Pope Urban or Adhémar of Le Puy, his legate, the prominence accorded to them by the eye-witness accounts. It is important, however, not to discount Albert's perception because he was writing in the Rhineland. His prejudices were those of a large group of people, including Godfrey who had fought on the side of the emperor against the pope in the Investiture Contest. Albert himself does not hide his partiality for Emperor Henry IV (XI, 48).

Albert therefore represents a Lotharingian perspective, and this defines his political bias, which is no more and no less than that of other writers of the time. His point of view in disputes in the crusaders' camp has usually been devalued because it does not agree with the eye-witness accounts. This is a pity, because on the whole he is remarkably restrained. This may be illustrated by reference to a well known and critically important event: the invention of the Holy Lance. Although Albert disliked Raymond of Saint-Gilles (accusing him of avarice and of being a source of discord), and he was less ready than some to accept the Holy Lance, he expressed only reasonable doubts, and avoided the hysterical anti-Provençal tone of Radulph of Caen.<sup>12</sup>

At this time of the affliction of famine ... and of fear of siege and concern over ambushes and attacks which the Turks were constantly inflicting from without, when God's army was humbled and

<sup>12</sup> AA pp. 419-20; cf. RC pp. 676-77.

hopeless, a certain cleric from the land of Provence claimed that the lance with which Lord Jesus was pierced in the side had been revealed to him in a vision. And indeed this cleric reported to Lord Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and to Count Raymond the place where they would find the precious treasure of the lance, which is to say in the church of blessed Peter, prince of apostles, affirming his vision with every protestation of truth he could. They believed his words and came by common decree to the place which the cleric was claiming. Digging there, they found the lance just as they had learnt from the cleric. They displayed the find to all the assembled princes of the Christians in that same chapel, spreading news of it widely and wrapping it in precious purple cloth. Then in the discovery and display of the lance there was hope and great happiness among the Christian people, who venerated it with no small celebration and by offering countless quantities of gold and silver.

When doubts arose later as to the relic's authenticity, Albert was again remarkably even-handed in his reporting (V, 32):

There during that same siege a dispute arose and an investigation of the Holy Lance: whether it was that with which the Lord's side was opened, or not. For many people were in doubt and there was a split among them. On this account the instigator and betrayer of its discovery, passing through the fire, came out unharmed, so they say, and Count Raymond of Provence himself and Raymond Pilet took him away from the hands and hustling of envious people, and they revered the Lance from that day, along with all their company. After these things it is related by some people that this same cleric grew so much more ill as a result of the trial's conflagration that in a short while he died and was buried. Because of this the faithful began

to hold the Lance in less veneration, believing its discovery to owe more to Raymond's greed and activity than to any divine truth.

To take a further example from the later part of Albert's *Historia*: in the matter of the patriarchate of Jerusalem Albert was undeniably partisan, favouring the northerner Arnulf of Chocques against the Italian Daimbert of Pisa. In this case historians have placed their reliance on William of Tyre, but he was in no better position to be objective than Albert: William was writing of events before he was born and he had an interest vested in upholding the reputation of the first Latin patriarch. There is little reason to prefer William's account of the dispute over Albert's very circumstantial story.<sup>13</sup> In these conflicts between crusaders Albert puts forward a valid point of view and he offers a valuable counter-balance to the pro-"Frankish" interpretations of the other major accounts.

In some matters Albert displays a remarkable degree of impartiality. It can be shown that Albert's treatment of the Byzantines is outstanding for its lack of prejudice.<sup>14</sup> He even displays a degree of objectivity towards the Muslims, carefully distinguishing Turks from Saracens and describing their differences.<sup>15</sup> Above all, although other Latin historians condemned the Christian attackers of the Rhineland Jews, Albert's sense of outrage can be matched only by the Hebrew writers:

I do not know if it was because of a judgement of God or because of some delusion in their minds, but the pilgrims rose in a spirit of cruelty against the Jews who were scattered throughout all the cities, and they inflicted a most cruel slaughter on them, especially in the kingdom of Lotharingia,

<sup>13</sup> Books VII and X. See also Alan V. Murray, "Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem", in this volume.

<sup>14</sup> Bunna Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen 1096-1204* (Assen, 1971), pp. 84-89.

<sup>15</sup> For example: AA pp. 363-64, 390-94, 420-21, 640, 694, 700. H. Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen* (Göttingen, 1966), pp. 193, 195; R. H. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 158-65.

claiming that this was the beginning of their journey and of service against the enemies of Christianity (I, 26) ... The Jews, indeed, seeing how the Christian enemy were rising up against them and their little children and were sparing none of any age, even turned upon themselves and their companions, on children, women, mothers and sisters, and they all killed each other. Mothers with children at the breast – how horrible to relate – would cut their throats with knives, would stab others, preferring that they should die thus at their hands, rather than be killed by the weapons of the uncircumcised (I, 27).

When the group of pilgrims who were responsible for the pogrom were massacred in Hungary, Albert goes so far as to say that this was God's judgement on them:

In this [massacre and defeat] the hand of God is believed to have been against the pilgrims, who had sinned in His eyes by excessive impurities and fornicating unions, and they had punished the exiled Jews (who are admittedly hostile to Christ) with a great massacre, rather from greed for their money than for divine justice, since God is a just judge and commands no-one to come to the yoke of the catholic faith against his will or under compulsion.

If this humanity towards the Jews is unique among Latin writers, Albert is also unusual among crusade historians in his empathy for women. Norman Daniel remarked upon this: "Albert had a genuine, imaginative understanding of the sorrows of the bereaved women 'carried off by stern enemies to an unknown and alien land'" (VIII, 18, 31).<sup>16</sup> Whereas other writers adopt the hard line – that death is preferable to slavery – Albert rather indulgently describes the way the younger women in the captured crusader camp beautify themselves to appeal to their Turkish captors:

<sup>16</sup> Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London, 1979), p. 201.

The Turks ... were growing stronger and stronger, they burst into the camp in strength, striking with arrows from their horn bows, killing pilgrim foot-soldiers, girls, women, infants and old people, sparing no-one on grounds of age. Stunned and terrified by the cruelty of this most hideous killing, girls who were delicate and very nobly born were hastening to get themselves dressed up, they were offering themselves to the Turks so that at least, roused and appeased by love of their beautiful appearance, the Turks might learn to pity their prisoners (II, 39).

But more than this, Albert does not deal in stereotypes: he knew that some of the captive women were not unhappy, including the nun, “rescued” after the battle at Nicaea, who subsequently sneaked away to enjoy her Turkish lover’s lascivious embraces (II, 37) and the knight’s widow who married her Turkish captor (V, 5). There is a moving passage in the *Historia* at the beginning of Book III where Albert describes the agonies of thirst suffered by the crusaders in Asia Minor, including the distress of women forced into premature labour and childbirth.

It will have been gathered from the nature of some of these anecdotes that Albert by no means confines himself to recounting the historical narrative, and one of his best features is his avid interest in all aspects of the crusading experience which would be novel or strange to his audience. For example, there is in the *Historia* a detailed description of the use of carrier pigeons by the Turks (V, 9).<sup>17</sup> He also gives a circumstantial account of sugar production in Syria, which is a good example of his approach:

In that place the people sucked little honeyed reeds, found in plenty throughout the plains, which they call *zucra*; they enjoyed this reed’s wholesome sap, and because of its sweetness once

<sup>17</sup> Susan B. Edgington, “The Doves of War: the Part Played by Carrier Pigeons in the Crusades”, in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 167-76.



they had tasted it they could scarcely get enough of it. This kind of grass is cultivated every year by extremely hard work on the part of the farmers. Then at harvest time the natives crush the ripe crop in little mortars, putting the filtered sap into their utensils until it curdles and hardens with the appearance of snow or white salt. They shave pieces off and mix them with bread or with water and take them as a relish, and it seems to those who taste it sweeter and more wholesome even than a comb of honey ... The people, who were troubled by a dreadful hunger, were greatly refreshed by these little honey-flavoured reeds during the sieges of Albara, Marra and Archas (V, 37).

If anyone should wish to know what sort of banners the crusaders carried, then Albert may be consulted (Bohemond's was blood-red, and Raymond's was purple and green). He is first-class on the different sorts of ships used in the eastern Mediterranean. He also gives a lot more information than others about the medical resources of the first generation of crusaders.<sup>18</sup> He wrote an excessively detailed account of the death of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, his embalming and funeral (XII, 26-29) and a gruesome account of the fatal effects of ingesting leeches (VI, 6). Examples could be multiplied almost endlessly. Surprisingly, since Albert wrote his *Historia* far away in Aachen, it is he who conveys the most vivid impression of the day-to-day experience of being on crusade.

Albert of Aachen made no claim to be a Latin stylist, and yet his style is admirably suited to his subject matter. It is remarkably sparing of biblical citations, and those which are used are chiefly from the gospels and the psalms, of everyday familiarity to his audience from liturgical use. Likewise, although he must have had a classical education, there are few quotations from classical authors.

<sup>18</sup> Susan B. Edgington, "Medical Knowledge in the Crusading Armies: The Evidence of Albert of Aachen and Others", in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 320-26.

He is restrained in his use of simile and metaphor. Some of Albert's contemporaries were more pretentious.

Albert's syntax is uncomplicated. His most used word is decidedly *et*. Besides using it as a conjunction where a better stylist would have used a complex sentence construction, Albert was addicted to duplication. He duplicated nouns, like *cedes et strages, menia et muri*; adjectives such as *nudus et vacuus, fessus et gravatus*; verbs, as in *videre et intelligere* and *offere et dare*. Although as a consequence he sometimes verges on tautology, this is in fact the biggest challenge in translating the *Historia*: if the reader is not concerned to render his meaning elegantly, then he is not difficult to understand. As indicated above, Albert was concerned to present the experiences of those who were actually there: consequently much of his account has the quality of reportage. Most striking is Albert's delight in describing battles, and the verisimilitude with which he does so. This raises one of many unanswered, possibly unanswerable questions about the *Historia*: what was its intended audience? The vigorous prose and the reluctance to moralise suggest a wider audience than the cloister.

Such unanswered questions are another aspect of the *Historia* which demands attention. Who was Albert? When did he write? Where did he write? Why did he write? Whom did he write for? What were his sources? Most important of all, how far is he to be trusted? These questions have been the subject of academic debate since 1841 when Heinrich von Sybel published his "epoch-making" history of the First Crusade.<sup>19</sup> They were revisited by Peter Knoch in his study of Albert's *Historia* of 1966.<sup>20</sup> There is still no consensus on the more important of them, and the only ammunition available to those who wish to engage in the dispute is evidence drawn from a close examination of the text.

Paradoxically, although it may be argued that Albert of Aachen's *Historia* has been overlooked and undervalued, the final reason why it is indispensable is the influence it has exercised over crusade historiography. In the main this influence has not been

<sup>19</sup> Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Leipzig, 1841).

<sup>20</sup> Peter Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen: Der Erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik* (Stuttgart, 1966).

direct, but through the channel or medium of William of Tyre. William has never been overlooked or undervalued – quite the contrary – but he was writing in the latter part of the twelfth century, and for his narrative of the First Crusade he was dependent on written accounts, including Albert's *Historia*.<sup>21</sup> Hence, for example, the prominence William gave to Peter the Hermit, which was in turn responsible for some seven centuries of historical distortion.<sup>22</sup> To understand and engage in any historiographical debate concerning the first crusade and the early history of the Latin settlements, first-hand knowledge of Albert of Aachen's *Historia* is essential.

Albert of Aachen's *Historia* is an intriguing and sometimes infuriating work. Its very length makes it indispensable to the crusade historian, for it contains much information found nowhere else. It is also valuable because it is independent of the other surviving contemporary sources; it complements them, and in some measure provides a Lotharingian counter-balance to their pro-French bias. Even Albert's geographical distance from the events he described can be interpreted positively, since it resulted in a degree of detachment and objectivity in his account, and perhaps helped him to avoid easy stereotyping, for example of Jews or women. And in spite of this distance, Albert conveyed a wealth of seemingly authentic incidental detail which is invaluable in recreating the daily experience of crusading. He employed a direct and engaging narrative style, which evidently appealed to the later historian William of Tyre, for William based much of his First Crusade narrative on the *Historia*. William's eclipse of Albert was not questioned until the nineteenth century, when the relationship between the two, and other challenges to Albert's veracity and reliability, occasioned intense and long-running historiographical debate. It is hoped that the provision of a new edition of the text,

<sup>21</sup> Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988).

<sup>22</sup> Ernest O. Blake and Colin Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade", *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 79-107.

with translation and commentary, will reinstate Albert of Aachen as a major contemporary historian of the First Crusade.<sup>23</sup>

*Huntingdonshire Regional College*

<sup>23</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford Medieval Texts, forthcoming).





# Albert of Aachen and the Crusade of 1101

Alec Mulinder

I intend in this paper to consider briefly Albert of Aachen's use of numbers during the crusade of 1101, and point to a possible explanation for what I hope will emerge as his rather uniform use of certain figures.

The crusade of 1101 remains a very under-researched aspect of the early crusading movement. The most detailed account of the crusade is provided by the present author in a recently submitted Ph.D. thesis. The only other works of note are those by Steven Runciman, James Cate and Jonathan Riley-Smith. Of these Cate's history of the crusade continues to be a useful summary, and Riley-Smith's work is particularly valuable for the light it sheds on the motivations of many ordinary crusaders.<sup>1</sup> Few articles have been published of direct relevance to the crusade of 1101.<sup>2</sup> The two most

<sup>1</sup> Alec Mulinder, "The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wales, 1996); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986); James L. Cate, "The Crusade of 1101", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Philadelphia and Madison, 1955-89), 1:343-67.

<sup>2</sup> The most important articles relating to the crusading expeditions of 1101-2 are S. Riant, "Le Martyre de Thiemo de Salzburg", *Revue des questions historiques* 39 (1906), 218-37; James L. Cate, "A Gay Crusader", *Byzantion* 16 (1942-43), 503-26; George T. Beech, "Contemporary Views of William the Troubadour, IXth Duke of Aquitaine, 1086-1126", in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithart Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), pp. 73-89.

important chroniclers of the crusade of 1101 were Albert of Aachen and Ekkehard of Aura. Ekkehard is the only chronicler to have actually participated in the crusade. Most of Ekkehard's work up until 1103 was based upon Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Universal Chronicle*. Ekkehard comes across as a very opinionated writer and frequently takes sides. An example of this is his eagerness to blame crusader defeats in Asia Minor on Greek treachery. Ekkehard's chronicle is disappointing for the crusade of 1101. It is composed primarily of his personal reminiscences; as Ekkehard actually took ship to the Holy Land from Constantinople he has little to say about the crusade from this point onwards. Albert of Aachen is far more valuable, despite the fact that he never actually visited the Holy Land. Albert wrote his narrative as he collected material for each book and relied for much of his material on the oral testimony of returning crusaders. He emerges as a perceptive and compassionate man. He is also cautious in his use of rumour and hearsay. Other works of importance on the crusade of 1101 are those of Anna Komnene, William of Tyre, Orderic Vitalis and Fulcher of Chartres. Fulcher is the most valuable of this group, his account of the crusade probably having been written in 1106. Fulcher is particularly valuable for events following the crusaders' arrival in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Islamic, Armenian and Syrian sources are extremely brief and very patchy.<sup>3</sup>

The origins of the crusade of 1101 lie in two separate initiatives. The first of these was the long-running efforts of Pope Urban II and his successor Paschal II to recruit new bands of crusaders to reinforce the army of the First Crusade, and to aid the Latin states which were established following the success of the First Crusade. The other, equally important origin, lay in the spontaneous response across very wide areas of Europe to the seemingly miraculous capture of Jerusalem. Paschal II appears not to have anticipated such a response and showed little inclination to exert firm papal control over the crusading armies raised. The two

<sup>3</sup> See Mulinder, "The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2", pp. 317-36 for a detailed analysis of sources for the crusade.



most likely motives of the crusaders were to emulate the success of the First Crusade and reinforce the gains made in the East.<sup>4</sup>

Crusader armies were recruited from northern France, Burgundy, Aquitaine, the county of Nevers, Germany and Lombardy. By the time these entered Asia Minor they had coalesced into two main armies: the Franco-Lombard army (composed primarily of Italians, northern French and Burgundians) and the Aquitanian-Bavarian army under the command of Welf IV, duke of Bavaria, and William IX, duke of Aquitaine. A smaller army under the command of William II, count of Nevers, carried on independently, while a very large group of German crusaders (among whom was Ekkehard of Aura) sailed directly to Palestine from Constantinople. All of the crusader armies which attempted to cross Asia Minor suffered heavy defeats at the hands of a powerful Muslim coalition, the principal leaders of which were Kilij-Arslan (amir of Nicaea), Malik-Ghāzī (Danishmend amir), Karaja of Harran, and Ridwan of Aleppo.

The defeats in Asia Minor did not mean the destruction of the crusade. The survivors regrouped at Antioch during the winter of 1101 and a substantial army marched south to Jerusalem in the spring of 1102. Most of the crusader cavalry, with many prominent leaders including Stephen, count of Blois, and Stephen, count of Burgundy, perished at the second battle of Ramla (17 May 1102). This has usually been taken to signify the ignominious failure of the expedition, but Albert of Aachen makes reference to a substantial body of infantry having participated in the battle of Jaffa (4 July 1102).<sup>5</sup> Most of these were probably crusader infantry and so in its own way the crusade did help contribute to the survival of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Albert's history of the crusade is an invaluable source for any researcher. An illustration of this is the consistency with which he attempts to record the numbers of crusaders involved - even down to the numbers killed in every engagement, no matter how minor. It is really only through the careful attention to details of this nature

<sup>4</sup> See Mulinder, "The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2", pp. 4-77 for an analysis of the origins of the crusade and the motives of the crusaders.

<sup>5</sup> AA p. 494.

supplied by Albert that it becomes possible to give a considered assessment of the total numbers of crusaders involved.

Most chroniclers of the early period of the crusades give hopelessly inflated estimates of the numbers of protagonists involved. Albert, for example, claims that the Franco-Lombard army in 1101 totalled 260,000. Fulcher of Chartres claims that the crusader army at Nicaea in 1097 was 600,000, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* says 360,000 Turks and many other races faced the crusaders in Asia Minor in 1097, and Ekkehard of Aura claims that the combined army of Welf IV and William IX of Aquitaine in 1101 totalled 100,000.<sup>6</sup> Yet only Albert by his consistency and careful attention to detail allows us an insight into the more likely size of the crusade. There is one important qualification in all this. That is although Albert is very willing to give the numbers of crusaders involved, he does show a tendency to standardise the figures given.

The clearest example of this is his frequent use of the number 700. At least twice during his account of the First Crusade Albert mentions this number. The first time was during the battle of the Lake of Antioch (9 February 1098) when only 700 crusaders could find horses on which to fight. Raymond of Aguilers places each of the six crusader divisions at this battle at 2,000 knights.<sup>7</sup> During the approach of Kerbogha's relief army in 1098, 700 crusader knights pretended to leave the army in order to mask the successful crusader attempt to capture the city.<sup>8</sup>

Albert continues to employ the number 700 on a regular basis during his account of the crusade of 1101. Referring to a particularly fierce encounter during the Franco-Lombard expedition's march northwards from Gangra in Asia Minor, Albert describes the composition of the crusaders' marching column. A vanguard was composed of 700 French knights, with a rearguard of

<sup>6</sup> AA p. 563; GF p. 20; Ekkehard of Aura, *Frotolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 166; FC p. 183.

<sup>7</sup> AA pp. 400-1; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> AA pp. 400-1.

700 Lombard knights.<sup>9</sup> On resuming their march following a heavy defeat, the crusaders found themselves constantly harassed. 700 Turks attacked the rearguard and were driven off by the crusader cavalry totalling 10,000.<sup>10</sup>

During the long-drawn-out battle of Mersivan in the summer of 1101, the Turkish army of 50,000 attacked the crusader camp on the opening day, but were driven off with 700 slain.<sup>11</sup> 700 men in a crusader column were slain on the following day while returning to their camp after a successful foraging expedition.<sup>12</sup>

Albert's use of the number 700 does not end with the defeat of the Franco-Lombard expedition. On the defeat of the army of the count of Nevers at the first battle of Heraclea, Albert tells us that 700 knights fled into the neighbouring forests and mountains.<sup>13</sup> Finally, at the second battle of Ramla in 1102 Albert writes that the Christian army was composed of 700 mailed cavalry.<sup>14</sup> The only time the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* uses the number 700 is in describing an engagement between 30 knights and 700 Arabs, Turks and Saracens, and this use is clearly designed to emphasise the disparity between the two groups. Fulcher of Chartres also only mentions this number once in his account of the First Crusade, when 700 Turks were killed by the crusaders in an ambush at Antioch.<sup>15</sup>

Taken together, this uniform referral by Albert to the number 700 must be treated with considerable caution. Albert would seem to be generalising, an impression which can be supported when his references to other numbers are examined.

Many other numbers crop up more than once during his discussion of the crusade of 1101. For example, 500 is another popular number. Over 500 Turks attacked the Franco-Lombard

<sup>9</sup> AA p. 565.

<sup>10</sup> AA pp. 565-66.

<sup>11</sup> AA p. 567.

<sup>12</sup> AA p. 568.

<sup>13</sup> AA pp. 577-78.

<sup>14</sup> AA p. 592.

<sup>15</sup> GF p. 88; FC p. 220.

army in its heavy defeat en route to Mersivan,<sup>16</sup> and it was only Stephen of Burgundy's attack with 500 knights which finally drove the Turks off.<sup>17</sup> Following this, Albert remarks that every time a group of crusaders, numbering 500, or 300, or 200, left the army to search for food they would be surrounded by Turks and destroyed.<sup>18</sup> 500 Turcoples were also sent to join the Franco-Lombard expedition by the Byzantine emperor Alexios Komnenos.<sup>19</sup> Again, the *Gesta Francorum* mentions the number 500 just once, when referring to a party of 500 knights. The only time Fulcher refers to a unit of 500 soldiers on the First Crusade is when he notes after the capture of Jerusalem that Raymond, count of Toulouse, allowed "about" 500 black Ethiopians in the Tower of David to depart for Ascalon. Raymond of Aguilers does not mention a unit of 500 soldiers at all in his account of the First Crusade. He does use the number 400 just once, but this is again intended to highlight crusader courage; at the battle of the Lake of Antioch on 9 February 1098 400 knights routed 60,000 pagans.<sup>20</sup>

200 and 300 are other favourite numbers often quoted by Albert. The Franco-Lombard army killed 200 Turks following their capture of Ankara in 1101,<sup>21</sup> and describing their subsequent march north groups of 200 and 300 crusaders frequently left the army to search for food. Stephen of Blois rescued Raymond of Toulouse with 200 soldiers at Mersivan.<sup>22</sup> During the Nivernais expedition's march from Iconium to Heraclea, 300 men died as a result of the lack of food and water, and the attacks of the Turks.<sup>23</sup> And finally, during the Aquitanian-Bavarian army's defeat at Heraclea, Albert notes that 300 men were killed by Turkish arrows.<sup>24</sup> Raymond of Aguilers does mention these numbers: 100 Turks were killed by

<sup>16</sup> AA p. 565.

<sup>17</sup> AA p. 565.

<sup>18</sup> AA p. 566.

<sup>19</sup> AA p. 563.

<sup>20</sup> GF p. 26; FC pp. 308-9; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, p.

35.

<sup>21</sup> AA p. 564.

<sup>22</sup> AA pp. 569-70.

<sup>23</sup> AA pp. 576-77.

<sup>24</sup> AA p. 581.

Robert of Flanders in skirmishing, almost 300 crusaders were slain in an attack on a convoy from St Simeon, 100 were killed in ambush outside Antioch, and 200 were left to guard against attacks from the garrison of the citadel of Antioch before the rout of Kerbogha's army outside the walls of Antioch on 28 June 1098.<sup>25</sup> However, there is no consistency in Raymond's use, and certainly no frequency. Fulcher of Chartres mentions the number 200 once, in connection with a Turkish attack outside Nicaea which was driven off and left 200 Turkish dead, and the *Gesta* only mentions the numbers 200 and 300 once in connection with low-level actions.<sup>26</sup>

Albert also mentions the number 1000 more than once. 1000 infantry and pilgrims were killed in an attack on the Franco-Lombard army's marching column;<sup>27</sup> 1000 infantry from the same expedition were later trapped in a valley by the Turks and burned to death;<sup>28</sup> 1000 captives were taken by the Turks following their victory at Mersivan;<sup>29</sup> and 1000 women were taken prisoner together with many horses, mules and much money in the wake of the destruction of the Nivernais army.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the number 10,000 is mentioned three times by Albert, first of all during the Franco-Lombard army's march north when its column came under pressure from 700 Turks. The entire cavalry force of 10,000 crusaders eventually came to the Lombard army's aid and drove the Turks off.<sup>31</sup> Ten thousand crusaders are also reputed to have marched south to Beirut in the spring of 1102,<sup>32</sup> and as we have already seen, a force of 10,000 infantrymen was collected by Baldwin I for the battle of Jaffa in July 1102.

A couple of points can be drawn from this examination of Albert's use of numbers during the crusade of 1101. Firstly, Albert appears to be attempting to categorise his estimates of crusader

<sup>25</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, pp. 34, 35, 42, 50, 61.

<sup>26</sup> FC p. 182; GF pp. 88, 94.

<sup>27</sup> AA p. 565.

<sup>28</sup> AA pp. 566-67.

<sup>29</sup> AA p. 571.

<sup>30</sup> AA pp. 577-78.

<sup>31</sup> AA pp. 565-66.

<sup>32</sup> AA p. 583.

numbers; and secondly, these estimates are considerably more realistic and conservative in their nature in comparison with other chroniclers of the First Crusade and the crusade of 1101.

Although some of the numbers may well be accurate, or at least good guesses, it is also possible to see a pattern emerging once all Albert's numbers are considered in relation to one another. What Albert may in fact be signalling is that when he refers to units of 200-300 men he believes them to be a large, but not substantial force. Units of 500 or 700 crusaders could be taken to mean substantial forces, and units of 1000 very substantial forces. Albert's overall estimation of the Franco-Lombard expedition at 10,000, and later the whole crusader army at Beirut at 10,000 may not be far off the actual sizes in both instances. It may also be that he was signalling that, by the time of the crusader army's arrival in Beirut in 1102, it was no larger than the Franco-Lombard army had been when it entered Asia Minor in 1101.

Steven Runciman, commenting on the numbers involved on the First Crusade, noted that although the figure 500 occurs too regularly to be above suspicion, it may have been a generally accepted unit of men to go on a raid.<sup>33</sup> The same claim might also be made after an analysis of Albert's use of numbers for the crusade of 1101.

An examination of the numbers mentioned in connection with the First Crusade by chroniclers such as Fulcher of Chartres, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, and also Ekkehard of Aura on the crusade of 1101, illustrates the tendency to exaggerate. Estimates such as Raymond's claim that 200,000 crusaders had died by the time the army reached Albara, Fulcher's mention that the Turkish army at the battle of Antioch in 1098 totalled 300,000, Ekkehard of Aura's 100,000 for the total forces of Welf IV of Bavaria and William IX of Aquitaine, and Anna Komnene's statement that the combined Franco-Lombard

<sup>33</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1952-54), 2:336-41.

army totalled 150,000,<sup>34</sup> are shown to need considerable scaling-down in the light of Albert's more sober presentation of the numbers of crusaders involved.

*Public Record Office, London*

<sup>34</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, p. 75; FC p. 249; Ekkehard of Aura, p. 166; E. R. A. Sewter, trans., *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (New York, 1969), p. 356.









# **Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem**

Alan V. Murray

On 18 July 1100 the first ruler of Latin Palestine, Godfrey of Bouillon, died at Jerusalem, almost exactly one year after the capture of the Holy City by the army of the First Crusade.<sup>1</sup> In English at least, it is a cliché that a week is a long time in politics, and to judge by the reports of the sources, the pace of political change nine hundred years ago was sometimes only slightly slower than today. According to the chronicler William of Tyre, after Godfrey's death the Tower of David was seized by a group of his knights under the leadership of Warner, count of Grez. This action must have been taken swiftly, since Warner himself died on 22 July, only four days after the demise of his lord.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless his followers continued to act with the same determination which the count had demonstrated. Shortly afterwards they despatched three emissaries (Robert of Rouen, bishop of Lydda-Ramla, and two knights) to the late ruler's younger brother Baldwin, then count of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Vogtherr, "Die Regierungsdaten der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 110 (1994), 51-81 (here 52).

<sup>2</sup> WT pp. 448-56.

Edessa, with the message that he should come to Jerusalem to secure the succession to his brother's kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

The reason for the actions of Godfrey's knights was that the succession of Baldwin was opposed by the leading ecclesiastic in the realm, Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who since Christmas 1099 had been patriarch of Jerusalem. At the beginning of August Daimbert wrote to the prince of Antioch, Bohemond I, enjoining him to dissuade Baldwin from coming to Jerusalem, and if persuasion failed, to prevent him by violence if necessary.<sup>4</sup> The question of the succession hung in the balance until November, when Baldwin arrived in Jerusalem with a force from Edessa which included the historian Fulcher of Chartres, and was not finally resolved until Baldwin's coronation as king at Bethlehem on Christmas Day. Nevertheless, the crucial event which paved the way for Baldwin's triumph was the resolute action of Warner of Grez and his followers in securing the capital of the kingdom, a move which checkmated the aims of Daimbert and his principal ally Tancred, prince of Galilee. Thus the period after Godfrey's death on 18 July was decisive in determining the constitutional status of the Frankish settlements in Palestine. These few weeks inaugurated a transition from a state in which the relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical powers was imprecisely defined, to a monarchy with essentially the same powers and trappings as the kingdoms of western Europe.

Until the Second World War, scholarship, led by Charles Moeller, Joseph Hansen and John La Monte, generally held that the First Crusade established an ecclesiastical state in Palestine; Godfrey of Bouillon, known as the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, accepted the overlordship of the church, being merely charged with the defence of the Holy Places on its behalf.<sup>5</sup> However, since the

<sup>3</sup> AA p. 526.

<sup>4</sup> WT pp. 456-58.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Moeller, "Godefroy de Bouillon et l'avouerie du Saint-Sépulchre", in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth: Recueil de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire, à la philologie et à l'archéologie*, 2 vols (Paris, 1908), 1:73-83; Joseph Hansen, *Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem* (Luxembourg,

pioneering work of John Gordon Rowe most historians have come to accept that the victorious crusaders established something like a traditional western monarchy, even though the ruler was not called king. Rowe concludes that the institution of *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri* "represents a full royal power shorn of its title by the piety of the crusaders".<sup>6</sup> Indeed, even Godfrey's title may have been less modest than Rowe assumed; Jonathan Riley-Smith and I have both argued, along different lines, that the title chosen by or for him, whether this was *advocatus*, *defensor* or *princeps* or a combination thereof, can be interpreted as implying a secular authority sanctioned by God.<sup>7</sup>

Yet problems remain in the interpretation of Godfrey's actual rights and powers in the period after his installation as ruler, especially because of the ambitions of Daimbert of Pisa. Most historians have accepted that, after his arrival in Palestine, the archbishop had quite different ideas about the nature of this state, and that after becoming patriarch of Jerusalem he followed a concerted campaign to change the relationship between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers.

Fulcher of Chartres reports that at Christmas 1099 both Godfrey and Bohemond took part in a ceremony in which they received their lands from the new patriarch "for the love of God".<sup>8</sup> William of Tyre describes the ceremony as an "investiture".<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to know how to interpret this ceremony, since each party could presumably place its own gloss on it. Godfrey may have regarded it as being analogous to ceremonies in which western

1928), pp. 11-20; John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> John Gordon Rowe, "Paschal II and the Relationship between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem", *Speculum* 32 (1957), 470-501 (here 475).

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52 (1979), 83-86; Alan V. Murray, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem", *Collegium Medievale* 3 (1990), 163-78. For a dissident view, see John France, "The Election and Title of Godfrey de Bouillon", *Canadian Journal of History* 18 (1983), 321-30.

<sup>8</sup> FC pp. 741-42.

<sup>9</sup> WT pp. 440-41.

monarchs were crowned, anointed or invested by the senior ecclesiastic of their realms. What is much more important is the matter of temporal power in Frankish Palestine. It is generally held that in the second half of his short reign Godfrey was obliged to make several concessions of territory to Daimbert, mainly because of the strategic importance of the Pisan fleet which Daimbert had brought with him. These were as follows: (1) at Christmas 1099, a quarter of the city of Jerusalem, (2) at Candlemas 1100, a quarter of the city of Jaffa, and (3) at Easter 1100, the Tower of David and the remainder of Jerusalem, as well as the remainder of Jaffa. These concessions were weighty indeed, bearing in mind how little of Palestine had actually been conquered by the Franks. Galilee was in the hands of Bohemond's nephew Tancred, who was keen to establish an independent principality and to extend his domains to the coast.<sup>10</sup> Godfrey himself only controlled Judaea (specifically, the area around Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron) and a coastal strip around Jaffa, Lydda and Ramla. The Muslims still controlled most of the coast, including Tyre, Acre, Ascalon, Caesarea, Sidon and Beirut. The concessions of Jerusalem and Jaffa would have meant that Godfrey was handing over his capital and the only port of the Frankish settlements, while retaining very little for himself. It is therefore quite understandable that a rider to the third concession stipulated that Godfrey was to remain in possession of Jerusalem and Jaffa until such time as he could conquer two comparable cities, although if he should die without an heir in the meantime, they were to pass immediately to the patriarch.<sup>11</sup>

The major problem in interpreting Godfrey's concessions to Daimbert is that they have been conveyed to posterity exclusively by the chronicle of William of Tyre, writing over seventy years later. Moreover, all of William's own information can be seen to derive from a document quoted by him later, which purports to represent the text of the letter sent by Daimbert to Bohemond of Antioch, and which forms chapter X.4 of his history.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Martin Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 64-66.

<sup>11</sup> WT pp. 441-42, 456-58.

<sup>12</sup> WT pp. 456-58.

The ostensible letter of Daimbert quoted by William evidently does not reproduce the original text, since most authorities accept that its phraseology shows at least editorial intervention by William. Edbury and Rowe think it possible that "William himself composed it on the basis of a report of such a letter having been sent", which he found in sources which have not survived.<sup>13</sup> I will refer to it from now on as the "Daimbertine letter" in order to indicate that what William recorded does not represent the original text. What is striking is that William had considerable difficulty in explaining its claims and reconciling them with his own researches.<sup>14</sup> He reports that he was unable to explain with what justification Daimbert was able to claim all of Jaffa and Jerusalem. He does attempt something of an explanation, but only manages to muddy the waters, providing simply an account of the origin of the patriarch's lordship, which consisted of the north-western quadrant of the city, and was centred around the Holy Sepulchre and the patriarchal palace.<sup>15</sup> This quarter had been in the possession of the Holy Sepulchre during Muslim rule, and continued to be held by the church as a temporal lordship long after Godfrey's death. There is therefore no reason to doubt

<sup>13</sup> Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 49-50. Edbury and Rowe make the interesting suggestion that the letter or its source material may have originally been written in connection with a *later* dispute between church and monarchy, possibly that involving the patriarch Stephen and Baldwin II. For the text of the letter, see the Appendix below.

<sup>14</sup> William admits that he was unable to reconcile Daimbert's claims with the constitutional status of the state as it had been established by the leaders of the crusade: "Hec omnia, etsi aliorum relatione comperta et etiam quorundam opera scripto mandata, presenti interseruimus narrationi, miramur tamen quibus rationibus motus dominus patriarcha hanc adversus ducem suscitaverit questionem, cum nec uspiam legerimus aut a viris fide dignis audierimus, ea conditione domino duci regnum a victoribus principibus fuisse traditum, ut alicui persone alicuius prestationis annue vel perpetue vinculo se sciret obligatum" (WT pp. 441-42).

<sup>15</sup> WT pp. 442-43; Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 296-301.

that Godfrey made this grant.<sup>16</sup> The main difficulty is posed by the other concessions mentioned in the letter: the remainder of Jerusalem, and Jaffa in its entirety. Even if we accept the evidence of the Daimbertine letter at face value, we could still interpret Godfrey's agreement as an attempt to buy time by making concessions that would only take effect in the future, or possibly never. He was allowed to retain Jaffa and most of Jerusalem until two comparable cities could be conquered. Since the letter specifically mentions *Babylon* (i.e. Cairo), this could hardly be expected to happen quickly, given that the Franks did not even control all of Palestine. Furthermore, until that happened the patriarch could not claim the two cities unless Godfrey died without heirs. It has been argued, most forcefully by Hans Eberhard Mayer and Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, that the agreements thus gave Godfrey a huge incentive to marry and produce children, which would negate the effects of the final concession. No-one could suspect that he would be dead within six months.<sup>17</sup>

The whole tone of the Daimbertine letter implies that the actions of Warner of Grez and his men were contrary to both the three agreements mentioned and the last will of Godfrey himself. However, neither the letter nor William's own discussion specify that Godfrey had to be succeeded by an heir *of his own body* for the third concession to become invalid. They speak, respectively, of a "legitimate heir" and a "male heir".<sup>18</sup> Even though Godfrey had no children on his death, he did of course have heirs who were both male and legitimate, his brothers Eustace (count of Boulogne) and Baldwin (count of Edessa). If the agreements had specified that the heir needed to be a child of Godfrey's, then he did indeed have an incentive to marry and sire an heir, but this was easier said than done in the circumstances. Any marriage partner would have to be both Christian (and belong to a branch of Christianity that was not

<sup>16</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 7-9.

<sup>17</sup> Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte*, pp. 36-37; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098-1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 57-59, 75-79.

<sup>18</sup> WT p. 441 (*legitimo ... herede*), p. 456 (*herede masculino*).



regarded as heretical by the Latin church), and of appropriate social standing, which was something of a tall order in Frankish Palestine at the time. Some women had come on the crusade, but aristocratic women seem to have been relatively rare, and of course many of those who had come must have returned to the West in the summer of 1100. In the northern Frankish states and the areas further north there was a Christian Armenian population which had a native aristocracy, and Baldwin I and Baldwin II as counts of Edessa found wives from this class, as did Joscelin I of Edessa, establishing political alliances with Armenian nobles in the process.<sup>19</sup> In Palestine, by contrast, there was no social group among the native Christians that the Franks would have accepted as noble. In the second half of the twelfth century two kings of Jerusalem (Baldwin III and Amalric) found wives from the Byzantine imperial family. In 1099, however, given the fraught relationship between Alexios Komnenos and the new states it is doubtful whether he would have been willing to provide a Byzantine princess for a ruler of such short standing as Godfrey. Therefore, if it was politically necessary for Godfrey to have an heir of his own body, then this would have entailed possibly protracted negotiations with a suitable dynasty in the West, and a lengthy journey of a marriage partner to Jerusalem. However, if the agreements with Daimbert recognised that Godfrey could be succeeded by *any* male and legitimate heir, then such practical considerations would not have been regarded as problematic for Godfrey and his advisors in their dealings with the patriarch.

The evidence provided by William of Tyre begins to look even more questionable if we compare it with the historiographical tradition represented by contemporary authors, who say nothing of these various concessions, and give a quite different interpretation of Godfrey's testamentary dispositions. Albert of Aachen relates that the embassy of Daimbert and Tancred, entrusted to the patriarch's secretary, Morellus, was in contravention of the oath they had sworn to Godfrey that no-one but one of his brothers or

<sup>19</sup> Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem, 1100-1190", in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 143-74; James H. Forse, "Armenians and the First Crusade", *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 13-22.

another of his blood should be allowed to succeed to the *regnum Iherusalem*.<sup>20</sup> Radulph of Caen portrays a death-bed scene, in which Daimbert, Arnulf of Chocques (then archdeacon of Jerusalem) and others unanimously agreed by oath to Godfrey's designation of Baldwin as his successor. Although we cannot regard the speeches quoted as verbatim reproductions, Radulph's account essentially agrees with that of Albert.<sup>21</sup>

Mayer and Favreau-Lilie have argued that, under Lotharingian customs of succession, Eustace, the elder brother, would have had prior rights.<sup>22</sup> Of course there were other, more practical considerations: Baldwin was present in the East, whereas Eustace was hundreds of miles away in north-western Europe. Yet the question as to which brother was Godfrey's heir is an important one, because it has a bearing on the nature of the monarchy in Frankish

<sup>20</sup> AA p. 524: "Legatio denique haec Patriarchae et Tancredi sine mora directa est. Verum ejusdem legationis portitor, Morellus nomine, secretarius Patriarchae, quia in dolo missus est et contra jusjurandum quod idem Patriarcha Duci fecerat cum Tancredo, si forte obiret, nulli regnum Iherusalem se reddituros, nisi fratribus suis aut uni de sanguine ejus, ira Dei adversante, Laodicae in manus Reimundi comitis irruit". On the reliability of Albert of Aachen, see the article by Susan Edgington in this volume, and also Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp 57-77.

<sup>21</sup> RC p. 705: "Nam Gottifredus, rex optimus et timens Deum, capto mox Boamundo, ex hac luce migravit. Erat enim jam annus evolutus ex quo regnare coeperat, quum ad obitum pervenisset. Qui tamen antequam praesenti luce caruisset, dum corporis infirmate teneretur, ad se patriarcham Daybertum atque Arnulfum, ceterosque accersiri jubet, quibus ille: 'Ecce', inquit 'viam universae terrae ingredior. Modo ergo, adhuc me vivente, consilium inter vos habeatur; et quis vice mei in Jerusalem regnare debeat praevidentur'. At illi respondentes: 'Nos', inquit, 'magis hoc in tua providentia ponimus, et quem nobis ad hoc ipsum elegeris, ei procul dubio subdemur'. At ille: 'Si, inquit, in mea dispositione statuitur, Balduinum fratrem meum ad hoc culmen suscipiendum idoneum judico'. At illi Balduinum audientes, continuo unanimiter consentiunt, laudant, eique jurejurando fidelitate firmata subduntur: quoniam illum virum liberalem pecuniae, studiosum militiae, affata humilem, magnanimitate sublimem cognoverant".

<sup>22</sup> Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte*, pp. 36-37; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land*, pp. 57-59.

Jerusalem. When Baldwin I died in 1118, there was a dispute over the succession between supporters of his surviving brother, Eustace, and his cousin, Baldwin (II) of Bourcq, count of Edessa, from which the latter emerged victorious.<sup>23</sup> If in 1100 Godfrey's household chose the wrong man, as it were, by summoning Baldwin I rather than Eustace, then it would seem that true hereditary principles did not prevail until 1131, when Baldwin II was succeeded by the joint government of his daughter Melisende and her husband Fulk of Anjou. I would like to argue that there is clear evidence that in their actions in July 1100 the men of Godfrey's household were actually attempting to safeguard the rights of the heir; this heir, however, was not Eustace of Boulogne, but Baldwin of Edessa, whose status had been formally established before the crusade.

Most modern works have assumed that the household was a group of Lotharingian knights. However, it is rarely made clear on what evidence this assumption is based. When it left Europe Godfrey's army was largely recruited from Lotharingia and adjacent areas of the French kingdom. However, its composition changed somewhat during the course of the long march to Jerusalem. Several of the most prominent Lotharingians returned to Europe soon after the capture of Jerusalem. They included Cono, count of Montaigu, and his son Lambert, Dudo of Cons-la-Grandville, Louis of Mousson, as well as Rainald, count of Toul, and his brother Peter of Dampierre, who held lands on the borders of France and the empire. Casualties included Gozelo of Montaigu (son of Cono), Baldwin of Hainaut, Henry of Esch-sur-la-Sûre and Louis of Toul. At the same time, men originally from other contingents took service with Godfrey.<sup>24</sup> We cannot therefore assume that his household on his death was necessarily completely Lotharingian in character.

Joshua Prawer described the household in July 1100 as an "anonymous group of knights called the *domus Godefridi*",

<sup>23</sup> Alan V. Murray, "Baldwin II and his Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118-1134", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994), 60-85.

<sup>24</sup> Alan V. Murray, "The Army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099: Structure and Dynamics of a Contingent on the First Crusade", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992), 301-29.

concluding that "it is likely that had there been any among them of prominence our sources would have pointed out the fact and mentioned their names".<sup>25</sup> In fact, the group was anything but anonymous. On several occasions, referring both to the course of the crusade and the Frankish settlement, Albert of Aachen talks about a group called the *domus Godefridi*, *clientela Godefridi* or *domus ducis*. On two occasions he gives precise details about the composition of the group in the summer of 1100.<sup>26</sup>

If we undertake an analysis of the origins of the knights named by Albert, we find very diverse individuals. They include two Germans (Gunter, and Wicher the Swabian), two Flemings (Winrich of Flanders and Matthew the Seneschal), three Normans (Robert of Anzi, Robert FitzGerard and Ralph of Montpinçon), a Provençal (Waldemar Carpenel) and three Lotharingians: Ralph of Mousson, Milo of Clermont and Warner of Grez himself. To these we can add another Lotharingian, the Hennuyer Gerard of Avesnes-sur-Helpe, who acted as overseer over the Muslim city of Arsuf and later received a fief at Hebron.<sup>27</sup> A non-knightly but nevertheless important member was the Lotharingian priest Robert, whom Mayer has identified as a key official of the chancery of Baldwin I, and who probably came to Palestine with Godfrey.<sup>28</sup> Those whose names have survived probably did not constitute the entire household, but it is likely that they were its most prominent members and representative of the group as a whole.<sup>29</sup> Clearly Lotharingians formed a core element in Godfrey's household after the majority of crusaders returned to the West in the summer of 1099, but it also evidently incorporated men who had originally left Europe in armies other than his.

<sup>25</sup> Joshua Prawer, "Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: The Franks", *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, 1955-89), 5:128.

<sup>26</sup> AA pp. 526, 531-32. See also pp. 358, 447.

<sup>27</sup> AA pp. 507, 516, 593.

<sup>28</sup> Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols (Hannover, 1996), 1:373-421.

<sup>29</sup> Murray, "The Army of Godfrey of Bouillon", 301-29; Murray, "The Origins of the Frankish Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), 281-300.

One of the household had impeccable credentials, both in his Lotharingian origins and his relationship to the Ardennes-Boulogne family: Warner of Grez. He was the only member of the group who had comital status, and he was the only one who was a kinsman of Godfrey, and thus the obvious candidate to lead the group. The county of Grez (Grez-Doiceau, prov. Brabant, Belgium) lay between the county of Brabant and the bishopric of Liège. In 1095 he appears to have undertaken a division of lands with his brother Henry, with a view to raising funds for the crusade.<sup>30</sup> In Albert of Aachen's list of departing crusaders, Warner is the only individual explicitly described as a kinsman of Godfrey. In the corresponding list given by William of Tyre, only Baldwin of Bourcq is so described, a retrospective editorial decision evidently influenced by his subsequent importance as king of Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> In Palestine he acted as Godfrey's field commander and deputy.<sup>32</sup> Warner is crucial to our understanding of the events of July 1100 in that he was someone who was closely associated with Godfrey and his family before, during and after the crusade, and who took over leadership of Godfrey's household on his death. If anyone was conversant with Godfrey's wishes, then it was likely to be him. How, then, would Lotharingians such as Warner of Grez have regarded the rights of Godfrey's family?

Godfrey and his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, were the offspring of a marriage contracted in the third quarter of the eleventh century, between Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida of Bouillon, daughter of Godfrey II (the Bearded), count of Verdun (d. 1069). Eustace III was the eldest, Godfrey the second, and Baldwin the youngest son, and this is another significant point that William of Tyre gets wrong.<sup>33</sup> Eustace III succeeded to the paternal

<sup>30</sup> "Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre de Fosses", *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 4 (1867), 369-98.

<sup>31</sup> AA p. 299; WT p. 161.

<sup>32</sup> AA pp. 229, 301, 514.

<sup>33</sup> John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, 1947), p. 21; Nicolas Huyghebaert, "La mère de Godefroid de Bouillon: La comtesse Ide de Boulogne", *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg* 95 (1981), 43-63; William gives the

inheritance of Boulogne, while Godfrey was eventually named as heir to the Lotharingian lands of his maternal uncle, Godfrey III (the Hunchback), duke of Lower Lotharingia (d. 1076). Baldwin was originally destined for an ecclesiastical career; he studied the liberal arts and obtained prebends in the churches of Cambrai, Rheims and Liège. However, at some point before the crusade he left the church to become a knight, and contracted a marriage with Godechilde, daughter of the Norman lord Ralph II of Tosny.<sup>34</sup> The brilliant prospects that this alliance offered in the Anglo-Norman realm were never realised by Baldwin, and in the period immediately before the crusade his presence in Lotharingia became more frequent.

Before he left the West on crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon disposed of his entire Lotharingian inheritance, consisting of the county of Verdun (held from the bishop of the city), the allodial complex of Bouillon, a fief to the south of Bouillon held from the archbishop of Rheims, and various smaller allods and fiefs situated mostly on the middle Meuse. Most of these estates were sold or mortgaged to raise funds for the crusade, while the rest were given to the church as pious donations.<sup>35</sup> The various adult members of the Ardennes-Boulogne family – that is Godfrey, Eustace, Baldwin and their mother Ida – appear in the documents recording these transactions, and a close examination of them reveals something of the status of Baldwin before the crusade. The abbey of Saint-Hubert in the Ardennes preserved a charter of Godfrey recording his donation of the church of Baisy to the abbey's priory of St Peter at Bouillon; it also confirmed to Saint-Hubert the church of Sensenruth, and established regulations for the chapel in the castle of Bouillon. Both Baldwin and Eustace appear as witnesses, in that

order of birth as Godfrey, Baldwin, Eustace, reflecting their relative importance in terms of the Jerusalem monarchy (WT pp. 425-26).

<sup>34</sup> WT p. 453; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-80), 3:128; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, n.s. 5 (Paris, 1984), pp. 13-42.

<sup>35</sup> Murray, "Army of Godfrey", pp. 325-27.

order.<sup>36</sup> Neither the date (1084), nor the indiction (1094) makes sense in view of a phrase in the arenga, “sed quia Jherusalem ire disposui”, which could only have been used after the council of Clermont in November 1095. Kurth believed that the early modern paper copy (MS Arlon, Archives de l’Etat, fonds Saint-Hubert 10.A.4) derived from a lost “pseudo-original” fabricated in the twelfth century. However, Despy has shown that it was not Godfrey, but his mother Ida, who made the donation of the church of Baisy; it is likely that the scribe who wrote the “pseudo-original” actually used a genuine document of the duke from 1096, and interpolated into it a section concerning Baisy. The motivation for this fabrication was probably to strengthen the abbey’s title to Baisy by attributing the donation to the prestigious hero of the crusade and ruler of Jerusalem. The remainder of the charter as it has come down to us, including names of witnesses, can be regarded as genuine.<sup>37</sup>

One of the reasons that Kurth was suspicious of the Saint-Hubert charter was that the youngest brother, Baldwin, was named as witness before the eldest, Eustace; it seemed that, like William of Tyre, the scribe of the “pseudo-original” confused the order of the brothers’ birth as a result of their subsequent importance, and therefore mistakenly placed Baldwin’s name first, as well as getting the date of the transaction wrong. This explanation cannot be dismissed. However, it is quite possible that there was a good reason for the order of names as recorded in the surviving version of the charter. It can be compared with others issued by Godfrey before his departure to the East. A charter of 1093 records the donation by Godfrey of the church of St Dagobert at Stenay to the abbey of Gorze.<sup>38</sup> There also survives a charter dated 1096, in which Godfrey again documented the donation. The text of this later version twice uses the formula “ego ... et frater meus Balduinus”, and Baldwin

<sup>36</sup> Godefroid Kurth, *Chartes de l’abbaye de St.-Hubert en Ardenne*, 1 (Brussels, 1903), no. 48.

<sup>37</sup> Georges Despy, “Les actes des ducs de Basse-Lotharingie du XIe siècle”, *Publications de la Section Historique de l’Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg* 95 (1981), 65-132 (here 99-105).

<sup>38</sup> A. D’Herbomez, *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Gorze: Ms. 826 de la Bibliothèque de Metz* (Paris, 1898), no. 139, pp. 242-44.

also sealed the document immediately after his brother.<sup>39</sup> It would appear that the duke, and presumably the abbey, thought it desirable to confirm the donation before he departed on crusade, and that it was also important for Baldwin's consent to be included. The charter which recorded the sale by the Countess Ida of the allods of Genappe and Baisy to the abbey of St Gertrude at Nivelles in 1096 has been lost, but the text was inserted verbatim into a diploma of the Emperor Henry IV issued at Aachen in 1098. This transumpt uses the formula "dux Godefridus et frater eius Balduinus", both in the subscription and in the witness list.<sup>40</sup> Eustace of Boulogne was not mentioned in either of these transactions.

Godfrey had come to Lotharingia from Boulogne as a young man and had spent most of his life before the council of Clermont in fighting to secure and defend his inheritance from rival claimants. Given his tenacity in keeping the family lands together before the crusade, it is reasonable to assume that he must have made dispositions concerning his own heir in the event of his death. Since Godfrey was not married and had no children, his heir in Lotharingia would have been one of his two brothers. As count of Boulogne, Eustace III was a vassal of the king of France.<sup>41</sup> He was

<sup>39</sup> Aubertus Miraëus, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, ed. Jean-François Foppens, 4 vols (Brussels, 1723-48), 1:365. For commentary see D'Herbomez, *Cartulaire*, pp. 541-42.

<sup>40</sup> *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae 6, 3 vols (Berlin, 1941-78), no. 459, pp. 619-20. Since the transumpt states that the Abbess Richeza acquired the allods from Countess Ida, these estates may actually have been part of Ida's dowry rather than possessions of Godfrey. However, the fact that Godfrey and Baldwin gave their consent is revealing of Baldwin's status.

<sup>41</sup> It has often been assumed that the county of Boulogne was a fief of the county of Flanders, and thus merely a rear-fief of the crown, mainly on the basis that the Boulonnais counts were a cadet branch of the house of Flanders. However, the detailed study by Tanner concludes that Boulogne was held directly from the king. See Heather J. Tanner, "Between Scylla and Charybdis: The Political Role of the Comital Family of Boulogne in Northern France and England (879-1159)" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara, 1993), pp. 49-57, 148-49, and Tanner, "The Expansion of the Power and Influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II", in *Anglo-Norman*



thus unlikely to be acceptable to the German monarchy as heir to the Ardennes lands which lay on the vulnerable western frontier of the empire.

We can be certain of this because of a test case in which the Ardennes dynasty was involved. Almost a half century before the crusade Baldwin VI of Flanders (d. 1070) had married Richilda, heiress of Hainaut. On Baldwin's death their eldest son Arnulf III succeeded to both counties, a concentration of power which threatened to spread the influence of Flanders into the empire. However, Arnulf was deposed by his uncle Robert the Frisian (d. 1093), and died at the battle of Cassel in 1071. Robert, who had the support of the king of France, was left in control of Flanders; Richilda and her surviving son Baldwin (d. 1098) were able to maintain themselves in Hainaut, and sought the help of Henry IV and his vassals Theoduin, bishop of Liège, and Godfrey III, duke of Lower Lotharingia (uncle of the crusader Godfrey of Bouillon). The settlement reached was intended to secure the status of Hainaut as a fief of the empire. At a diet at Liège in 1071 the emperor granted the imperial fiefs of Hainaut and Valenciennes to the bishop of Liège; the bishop granted them to Godfrey III as duke, who in turn granted them to Richilda and Baldwin (II of Hainaut).<sup>42</sup> These events, which must have been etched in the memory of the Ardennes dynasty,

*Studies, XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1991*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 251-77.

<sup>42</sup> A. Hansay, "L'inféodation du comté de Hainaut à l'église de Liège en 1071", *Bulletin de la Société de l'art et l'histoire du diocèse de Liège* 13 (1902), 45-58; Walter Mohr, *Geschichte des Herzogtums Lothringen, 2: Niederlothringen bis zu seinem Aufgehen im Herzogtum Brabant (11.-13. Jahrhundert)* (Saarbrücken, 1976), 48-50. The enmity between Flanders and Hainaut continued well into the twelfth century. Baldwin IV of Hainaut claimed Flanders on the death of Count Charles the Good in 1127, but proved unequal to the support of Thierry of Alsace, who emerged as the successful claimant. During Thierry's absence on the Second Crusade, war again broke out, and the dispute was only resolved by the marriage of Baldwin V of Hainaut to Thierry's daughter Margaret, which eventually brought about the personal union of the two counties. See Thérèse de Hemptinne and Michel Parisse, "Thierry d'Alsace, comte de Flandre: biographie et actes", *Annales de l'Est*, ser. 5, 43 (1991), 83-113.

made it clear that a vassal of the king of France such as the count of Boulogne would not have been acceptable as heir to substantial fiefs in the western frontier zone of the empire. By contrast, Baldwin would have been unaffected by such a disability.

Further information concerning Baldwin's status can be obtained from the *Gesta episcoporum Verdunensium* of Laurence of Liège. Before departing on crusade, Godfrey surrendered his rights in the county of Verdun which he held from the bishop of that city, and which was one of the oldest fiefs of the dynasty. Laurence records the fact that Bishop Richer conferred the county on Baldwin, who after a short time (*mox post modicum*) decided to accompany his brother to the East and surrendered the county.<sup>43</sup> It seems that for a short period, possibly months or even only weeks, Baldwin was installed as successor to the Lotharingian lands of the family. Why did he change his mind and accompany his brother? I suggest that he was left little choice by Godfrey's fund-raising ventures which progressively sold, mortgaged or gave away almost every other possession. Without the fortress and territory of Bouillon, mortgaged to Bishop Otbert of Liège, and the castle of Montfaucon-en-Argonne, surrendered to the bishop of Verdun, the position of episcopal count of Verdun would have been untenable against his traditional enemies, particularly the counts of Namur and Chiny.<sup>44</sup>

The charters discussed above do demonstrate one important point. The inclusion of Baldwin's name in them and the consent that this implies suggests that it derived from a recognised position as Godfrey's heir in Lotharingia before the crusade. It is also probable

<sup>43</sup> Laurence of Liège, *Gesta episcoporum Verdunensium et abbatum s. Vitoni*, MGH SS 10:498.

<sup>44</sup> For the mortgage of Bouillon, see Léon Saur, "Entre Bar, Namur et Liège: Bouillon, place stratégique", *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg* 95 (1981), 258-80. Laurence of Liège reveals that the castle of Montfaucon (département Meuse, France) was surrendered to the bishop of Verdun and razed to the ground: "dux castrum Falconii-montis, quod in episcopio firmaverat, ne in posterum noceret, abiens fecit everti" (p. 498). The site is wrongly referred to as "Falkenstein" by Andressohn, *Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, p. 51 and John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 84.

that this position was accepted among Godfrey's crusading army, despite its somewhat diverse composition. This becomes clear especially in the charter for St Gertrude of Nivelles. Among the witnesses were several lords and knights from the Ardennes region who subsequently accompanied Godfrey and Baldwin to the East: Cono of Montaigu, Warner of Grez, Henry of Esch-sur-la-Sûre and his brother Godfrey, and Heribrand and Walter of Bouillon. It would seem that the gathering at Nivelles was not only intended to transfer property, but was also a meeting of crusaders.<sup>45</sup> Men such as these must have been quite clear about the status of Baldwin, and it is likely that they transmitted these views to others who took service with Godfrey in the course of the crusade. Thus the evidence of three separate charters issued by Godfrey of Bouillon and his mother on the eve of the crusade, as well as that of Laurence of Liège, agrees that Baldwin was recognised as Godfrey's heir by 1096; it would also give weight to Radulph of Caen's statement that Godfrey named Baldwin as his successor in Jerusalem in 1100, and to the similar comments of Albert of Aachen. By contrast, the evidence of the Daimbertine letter is contradictory, in that it does not deny the possibility of Godfrey being succeeded by an heir, which is difficult to reconcile with what it says about Daimbert's attempts to prevent that heir taking up the inheritance. This suggests that whatever – presumably fragmentary – evidence lay behind William of Tyre's reconstruction of the Daimbertine letter, it is more likely to represent Daimbert's unilateral and rather tendentious interpretation of the constitutional position rather than something to which Godfrey had agreed. It is preferable to accept evidence which is both contemporary and diverse in origin, rather than the late and unique testimony of William of Tyre, the provenance of which is questionable.

The constitutional status of the Frankish state must have remained unclear until Baldwin's arrival in Jerusalem which

<sup>45</sup> *Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, no. 459, p. 620: "Godefridus dux et frater eius Balduinus ... Cuno de Montacut, Warnerus de Greiz ... Henricus de Ase, frater eius Godefridus ... Heribrandus et Walterus de Bulon". For these men on crusade, see Murray, "The Army of Godfrey".

occurred on or around 11 November.<sup>46</sup> On his entry to the city he was met by various groups from the urban population (Franks, Greeks, and Syrians), and conducted to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>47</sup> According to Ekkehard of Aura, Baldwin pledged himself to serve the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>48</sup> It would thus seem that this ceremony was intended as an official inauguration or consecration of Baldwin's rule; however, it is important that Baldwin swore to serve the Sepulchre, not the patriarch, who had withdrawn to Mount Zion and was not present at his church.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, from Baldwin's point of view this was a far from ideal solution, since he would have succeeded to Godfrey's title, the significance of which would have become ambiguous as a result of Daimbert's pretensions. As Riley-Smith has argued, the most well-informed chroniclers of the crusade considered that a *regnum* existed in Palestine when it was occupied by the Franks, even though its ruler, Godfrey, did not use the royal title.<sup>50</sup>

Daimbert was a cleric who had been in the forefront of the Gregorian reform movement under Urban II. Baldwin was undoubtedly aware of the issues in the great struggle between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, both from his own clerical training and his brother Godfrey's experiences in Lotharingia, which had been one of the principal battlegrounds of the Investiture Contest. Later, when Daimbert was removed from office, Baldwin behaved like an unreconstructed pre-Gregorian king in his dealings with the church

<sup>46</sup> Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten", pp. 53-54.

<sup>47</sup> FC p. 368.

<sup>48</sup> *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 163.

<sup>49</sup> FC p. 368.

<sup>50</sup> GF p. 92; FC pp. 307, 351, 353; GN p. 229; AA pp. 488, 524, 526-27; Riley-Smith, "Title of Godfrey of Bouillon", p. 83. Particularly interesting evidence is offered by Albert of Aachen. He makes it clear that Baldwin had come to assume the *regnum Iherusalem*, the *regnum Godefridi ducis* or the *thronum regni eius* (AA pp. 524, 531), but nevertheless tends to refer to him as *princeps* during the period before the coronation (AA pp. 527, 529, 534, 536). At one point he combines the two titles as *rex Christianorum et princeps Iherusalem* (AA p. 596) but after the coronation substitutes the title *rex* for that of *princeps*.

of Jerusalem. It is likely that during November and December he and his advisers rapidly became convinced of the unambiguous political advantages of a royal title. By Christmas Daimbert seems to have recognised that his own position was untenable, and his presence at Baldwin's coronation as king in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem on Christmas Day 1100 amounted to a public abandonment of his theocratic claims. As senior ecclesiastic of the realm, he crowned and anointed Baldwin.<sup>51</sup> The rite of unction was equally as important, if not more important than the royal diadem; it gave the king a mystical, quasi-divine power and was a formal demonstration of the idea that the royal authority derived from God.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, it can be seen that when they seized the Tower of David and sent for Count Baldwin of Edessa in defiance of the Patriarch Daimbert after the death of Godfrey of Bouillon, the men of the *domus Godefridi* were actually attempting to do justice to the status of Baldwin as his brother's designated heir. This status was something which had been made explicit in acts of the years 1095-96, and which at least one of those whose names have survived, Count Warner of Grez, had witnessed personally. The *domus Godefridi* may have been less Lotharingian in character than is often assumed, but by the summer of 1100 it was still sufficiently Lotharingian in composition and sentiment to wish to put into effect a designated dynastic succession, and in doing so established the kingdom of Jerusalem as a hereditary monarchy.

*The University of Leeds*

<sup>51</sup> AA pp. pp. 536-37; FC pp. 384-85.

<sup>52</sup> Fritz Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* (Münster, 1954), pp. 68-95; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Churches in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 55. It is also striking that up to 1109/1110 Baldwin's documents emphasise the legitimacy of his succession to Godfrey: see Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige*, 1:31.

## APPENDIX

## THE DAIMBERTINE LETTER

Epistola domini Daiberti ad principem Antiochenum<sup>53</sup>

Scis, fili karissime,<sup>54</sup> quoniam me ignorantem et invitum, bone tamen ac sancte intentionis affectu, in eam, que omnium ecclesiarum singularis est mater et gentium domina, rectorem et patriarcham elegeris electumque communi tam cleri ac plebis quam principum assensu in huius summe dignitatis sedem,<sup>55</sup> licet indignum, dei preeunte gratia locaveris. In quo ego culmine constitutus quanta pericula, quot labores, quot persecutiones sustineam, iniuriis offensus mille, meus cognoscit animus, cognoscit et ipse omnium inspector Christus. Vix enim Dux Godefridus, dum adhuc viveret, non tam proprie voluntatis arbitrio quam malorum persuasione seductus, ea reliquit ecclesie tenenda, que Turcorum temporibus qui tunc fuerat patriarcha tenuerat et sancta ecclesia, cum amplius honorari et exaltari debuit, tunc maiora desolationis atque confusionis sue obprobria sustinuit. Resipuit ille tamen per misericordiam dei et ab impietatis desistens proposito, in die Purificationis beate Marie<sup>56</sup> de Ioppe quartam partem ecclesie Sancti Sepulchri dedit et post in die Paschalis sollempnitatis,<sup>57</sup> iam ultra superbe sapere aut in seculari pompa confidere respuens, divino nutu compunctus cuncta que iuris erant ecclesie libera reddidit et homo Sancti Sepulchri ac noster effectus fideliter deo et nobis se

<sup>53</sup> WT pp. 456-48.

<sup>54</sup> As recorded, the letter contains no subscription or salutation. The addressee is identified as Bohemond I of Antioch by William in the foregoing chapter and in the chapter heading.

<sup>55</sup> This evidently refers to the council held at Christmas 1099, which chose Daimbert as patriarch, having withheld confirmation from Arnulf of Chocques. Godfrey, Bohemond I and Baldwin I as well as members of the clergy were present. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>56</sup> Candlemas, 2 February 1100.

<sup>57</sup> Easter, 1 April 1100.

amodo militaturum spondit.<sup>58</sup> Reddidit itaque nostre potestati turrim David cum tota Ierosolimitana urbe eiusque pertinentiis et quod in Ioppe ipse tenebat, sic tamen, ut ob rerum temporalium insufficientiam nostra concessione ipse hec tam diu teneret, donec illum deus in captione Babilonis<sup>59</sup> aut aliarum urbium amplificasset; si autem absque herede masculo ille moreretur, hec omnia cum in presentia totius cleri ac populi in die sollempni Pasche ante sacrosanctum Sepulchrum confirmasset, etiam in lecto egritudinis, de qua mortuus est, coram multis et probatis testibus ipse constituit. Quo defuncto comes Garnerius, ut hostis contra ecclesiam dei insurgens, fidem pactumque iusticie nichili pendens turrim David<sup>60</sup> contra nos munivit et legatis suis ad Balduinum directis mandat, uti ecclesiam dei direpturus resque eius violenter occupaturus quantocius veniat. Unde iudicio dei percussus quarto post obitum ducis die obiit. Hoc ipso autem mortuo viri ignobiles ac de plebe adhuc eandem turrim cum tota urbe occupantes tenent, adventum Balduini ad ruinam ecclesie et totius Christianitatis interitum prestolantes. Ast ego, qui solius dei clementie tueque dilectioni, fili karissime, sum relictus, miseris omnibus calumpniisque insidiantium michi malignorum circumventus, tibi soli, quia in te solo post deum confido et spei mee anchoram in tue dilectionis soliditate figo, tibi, inquam, soli quas patior erumpnas, immo quas ecclesia patitur, voce flebili et anxia cogitatio ne refero. Tu autem, si quid pietatis habes et nisi paterne glorie vis esse degener filius, qui tyrannica crudelitate clausum ab impia manu domnum apostolicum Gregorium) de urbe Roma eripuit,<sup>61</sup> unde memorabile seculis

<sup>58</sup> Fulcher of Chartres (FC pp. 741-42) and William of Tyre (WT pp. 440-41) record a ceremony in which Godfrey and Bohemond were invested with their lands by Daimbert at Christmas 1099. The letter does not mention that investiture, but records a ceremony by which Godfrey did homage to (literally "became the man of") the Holy Sepulchre and Daimbert, which is implied as having taken place at Easter 1100. The letter is the sole testimony to this homage, and it is striking that it is not mentioned by William himself.

<sup>59</sup> The name normally applied by crusaders to Cairo in Egypt.

<sup>60</sup> The Tower of David was the name given by the Franks to the citadel of Jerusalem, situated on the western side of the city near the Jaffa Gate.

<sup>61</sup> This passage evidently refers to events of the Investiture Contest in 1084, when Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria (Bohemond's father),

omnibus nomen emeruit, omni occasione remota festina venire et, terre regnique tui cura in militibus tuis prudentioribus sapienter disposita, sancte ecclesie miserabiliter laboranti misericorditer succurre. Et certe scis ipse quoniam auxilium tuum consiliumque promiseris et debitorem te sancte ecclesie ac michi sponte tua feceris. Scribe igitur ad Balduinum litteras, interdicens ei ne sine licentia nostra et legatione, cum ille tecum in patriarcham et rectorem ecclesie Ierosolimitane me elegerit, sanctam ecclesiam devastaturus et res eius occupaturus ullo modo veniat, monstrans ei quoniam inrationabile est tot pro eadem ecclesia labores sustinuisse totque pericula ut illa libera fieret, si nunc vilis et abiecta servire cogatur illis, quibus dominari et preesse materno iure debet. Quod si ille, iusticie resistens, rationabilibus acquiescere noluerit, per eam quam beato Petro obedientiam debes te contestor, ut quibuscumque modis vales aut etiam, si necesse sit, vi adventum eius impideas. Quicquid autem super his que mando tu factururus sis, galea tua ad me sub festinatione missa per hunc eundem, quem ad te mitto, nuntium, michi karissime, manifesta.

led an army to Rome to relieve Pope Gregory VII, who was threatened by the Emperor Henry IV. See Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), 1:276-79.



# Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule

Daniella Talmon-Heller

Until recently Muslims under Frankish rule have been rather neglected in the vast scholarly literature dealing with the crusader states.<sup>1</sup> Most works, mainly brief entries on the subject in general

<sup>1</sup> Recent contributions include: Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem", *History* 63 (1978), 175-92; Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1983), pp. 167-70; Joseph Drory, "Ḥanbalis of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 93-112; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant", in *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100-1300*, ed. James M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), pp. 135-74; Muḥammad Faṭḥi al-Shā'ir, *Aḥwāl al-Muslimīn fī Mamlakat Bayt al-Makdis al-Ṣalibiyya 1099-1187* (Cairo, 1990); Sa'īd 'A. J. al-Bishāwī, *Nāblus - al-awḍā' al-siyāsiyya wa al-ijtimā'iyya wa al-thiqāfiyya wa al-iqtisādiyya khilāl al-ḥurūb al-ṣalibiyya (492-690h/ 1099-1291m)* (Amman, 1991); Benjamin Z. Kedar and Muḥammad al-Ḥajjuj, "Muslim Villagers of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem: Some Demographic and Onomastic Data", in *Itinéraires d'Orient. Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. Ryka Gyselen (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994), pp. 145-56; Kedar, "Some New Sources on Palestinian Muslims before and During the Crusades" (forthcoming); Daniella Talmon-Heller, "The Shaykh and the Community: Popular Hanbalite Islam in 12th-13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qasyūn", *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994), 103-20. I owe many thanks to Prof. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) who introduced me to the study of Muslims in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and guided me and encouraged my

studies about the Frankish Levant, rely heavily on the memoirs of the Syrian “warrior and gentleman” – to use Hitti’s phrase – Usāma b. Munqidh (1095-1188), and on the impressions of the Magribi traveller Ibn Jubayr, who passed through the region in 1184.<sup>2</sup> Other Arabic sources that have been utilised include Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maḡdīsī’s treatise *Sabab hijrat al-Maḡādīsa ila al-Dimashq* (an account of the emigration to Damascus of 155 villagers from the vicinity of Nablus, between 1156 and 1173)<sup>3</sup> and medieval chronicles.<sup>4</sup>

I would like to present information gleaned from Arabic biographical literature – an extremely helpful source for the study of medieval Muslim history and society in general. This genre is represented in biographical dictionaries proper, and in obituaries (*wafayāt*), concluding the account of each year in chronicles.

My most important source is a small hagiographical dictionary: *Karāmāt Mashā’ikh al-Arḍ al-Muḡaddasa* – “The wondrous deeds of

work; to Dr Joshua Frankel (University of Haifa) for his helpful references and remarks, and to Dr Reuven Amitai-Preiss and Dr Adrian Boaz (Hebrew University) for reading my paper and commenting on it.

<sup>2</sup> Usāmah b. Munqidh, *Kitāb al-‘Itibār*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930); *An Arab Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh*, trans. P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929); Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, ed. William Wright (London, 1907); *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn, *Sabab Hijrat al-Maḡādīsa ila al-Dimashq*, in Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalā’id al-Jawhariyya fi Ta’rīkh al-Ṣālihiyya*, ed. Muḡammad A. Duhman, 2 vols (Damascus, 1949), 1:67-84. Mentioned by Henri Laoust, *Le Précis de droit d’Ibn Qudāma* (Beirut, 1950); Emmanuel Sivan, “Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades”, *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967), 135-48; and see Drory, “Ḥanbalis”.

<sup>4</sup> Such as: ‘Iz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fi al-Ta’rīkh*, ed. Abū al-Fidā’ ‘Abd Allah al-Qādī, 10 vols (Beirut, 1987), vols 9-10; Ibn al-Qalānīsī, *Dhayl Ta’rīkh Dimashq*, ed. Henry F. Amedroz (Leiden, 1907); Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir’āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1952), printed edition of facsimile edition of part 8 by J. R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907); Abū Shāma, *Al-Dhayl ‘ala al-Rawdatayn*, ed. Muḡammad Z. Ibn al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947).

the shaykhs (elders) of the Holy Land”, also by Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maḡdisī (1173-1245).<sup>5</sup> It is an unusual manuscript in this very popular literary form, its subject-matter being rural shaykhs, and its narrators – the villagers who admired them, or their descendants, born and bred in Damascus. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn himself belonged to this second generation. Aspects of daily life of Palestinian villagers, their religious practices and beliefs and their attitudes towards Frankish rule come to life in this treatise.

### DAILY LIFE

Ibn Jubayr, in an oft-quoted passage, refers to the relative well-being of Muslims of villages around Tyre, governed by the Franks.<sup>6</sup> Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn’s description of life under the rule of the Frankish lord of Mount Nablus, is much less favourable. Ahumān b. Barizān, as he calls him,<sup>7</sup> taxed his subjects without mercy, maltreated them and threatened the life of their popular shaykh and preacher. Still, once

<sup>5</sup> Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maḡdisī, *Al-Ḥikāyat al-Muḡtabasa fi Karamāt Mashāyikh al-Arḍ al-Muḡaddasa*, MS Damascus, al-Zāhiriyya, Ḥadīth 248, part 3, fos. 89-99. The manuscript is probably a thirteenth-century copy, from the author’s library. The first two folios were added by the fifteenth-century scholar Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādi, and include a chain of readers who studied the text, from the author up to himself, and a list of male and female family members (among them an eight-day old baby!) in front of whom he had read the text. See catalogue: *Fihris Makhtutāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya: al-Majāmi’*, ed. Yāsīn M. al-Sawwās (Damascus, 1984), p. 224. The extant part of the work includes fourteen entries under the letters a, dh, r, s, sh, ‘a. The stories take place in about a dozen villages in the vicinity of Nablus and in the towns of Nablus, Jerusalem and Ramla. For a historical-geographical survey of the region, see Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 301-2, trans. p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Tūlūn, *al-Qalā'id*, p. 67; probably Baldwin (1133-86) son of Balian I of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel, and Helvis of Ramla. See Sivan, “Réfugies”, p. 138 and Weyprecht H. Rüd̄t de Collenberg, “Les premiers Ibelins”, *Le Moyen Age* 71 (1965), 433-74.

the initial phase of conquest with its atrocities was over, and Frankish rule was established, Muslims were on the whole left in peace.

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn does not discuss the economic situation of those Muslims directly, but one gets the impression that with the exception of an occasional famine, inhabitants of Mount Nablus could make a reasonable living and even attain old age.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the contents of presents brought by villagers to their shaykhs can teach us something about the economic situation. Visitors brought with them grapes, cheese, dried fruit, honey, bread for lunch, a piece of sugar for a sick shaykh. Meat, it would appear, was consumed rarely. When Shaykh ʿAbd Allah of Funduq received a kid as a gift, he mixed its meat with that of a swan that miraculously flew into his home at night, and shared it with the people of his village. On another occasion “the *raʿīs*<sup>9</sup> of the village, who was wealthy and generous” sent him a head of cattle, just in time to satisfy his little son’s sudden craving for roast-beef.<sup>10</sup>

Many of the wonders the shaykhs performed for their followers also have to do with food, its multiplication or creation. Some of their miracles hint at poverty, though considering the recurrence of similar stories in hagiographical literature, they must be regarded with caution. For example: a friend and devotee of Shaykh Shuʿayb of Ramla needs the shaykh’s help in order to acquire a sweet for his wife, shortly after child-birth. The shaykh cooks “an excellent sweet” out of water-melon rinds collected in the market (stirring the boiling stew with his bare hand!). Shaykh ʿAbd Allah gives a man, who described himself as being so poor as “to

<sup>8</sup> This is an impressionistic assessment, based upon varied ages of death and descriptions of old age offered by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (such as that of “The old shaykh Abū Najm b. Khalīl b. Ḥaydara b. Ḥāfith al-Ḥārithī – who was old, perhaps a hundred years old or more, but in his full senses, apart from being blind”). See short discussion of the subject in Kedar and al-Hajjūj, “Muslim Villagers”, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> Headman. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria”, *English Historical Review* 87 (1972), 1-26 (here 9-15).

<sup>10</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 96b.

make in a year [i.e. to earn from a year's work] enough for six months [only]", a *kīl* (3.5 gallons) of wheat that nourished his family for a whole year without running out.<sup>11</sup>

As for occupations, and here I see no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information, besides peasants toiling in fields and fruit orchards, Mount Nablus accommodated shepherds who tended sheep and cattle, a man who produced baskets, a woman who made cloth-wrappers, a weaver, thieves and music-players (whose invitation to a wedding outraged a puritanical shaykh), as well as a *mu'adhdhin* and *imāms*.<sup>12</sup>

Family life of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Muslims cannot be submitted to thorough investigation on the basis of Ḍiyā's treatises, of course. But glimpses that we do get give this text its particular charm. A lively conversation between husband and wife gossiping about their neighbour, parents relieved at the repentance (*tawba*) of a rebellious son, a cat trusting its master with its kittens – such scenes, besides amusing the reader, lend credibility to the whole text. Demographic and onomastic data from Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's lists have already been analysed.<sup>13</sup>

## RELIGION

The fact that Muslims enjoyed religious freedom under the Franks, in spite of the confiscation of some urban mosques, and of the ban on their residence in Jerusalem, is well known by now. 'Imād al-Dīn attests to it clearly, saying that "the villagers of the Nablus area and the majority of its inhabitants were Muslims and had accommodated themselves to living as subjects of the Franks, who annually collected from them a tax levy and changed not a single law or cult

<sup>11</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fos. 92b, 96.

<sup>12</sup> The *mu'adhdhin* summons people to the mosque; the *imām* leads them in prayer. It appears that at least four mosques functioned in the area of Nablus.

<sup>13</sup> See Kedar and al-Ḥajjūj, "Muslim Villagers".

practice of theirs".<sup>14</sup> The important contribution of the texts of Ḍiyā' is in revealing the nature of religious Muslim life in a specific rural district of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Based upon the stories he collected, I would like to show that the provincial rural community he portrays, although under non-Muslim occupation, was well-connected to Islam and to the wider Muslim world and its trends. At least such was its image in thirteenth-century Damascus.

Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma, the preacher who had initiated the emigration from Mount Nablus, for instance, had left his village "to seek knowledge" (i.e. to acquire religious learning) in his youth, like many other Muslims in his times.<sup>15</sup> He returned to it to become a teacher of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, a popular *khatīb* (preacher) and charismatic shaykh of a community with a specific Ḥanbalite identity.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps under his influence, quotations from the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* are indeed woven into the speech of Ḍiyā's informants. So are scenes depicting the practice of normative Islam: a crowded mosque on a Friday at noon, a man engaged in prayer at night, villagers looking for water for ablutions, villagers on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Furthermore, there are many indications of Sufi influence. There is no evidence that Ḍiyā's shaykhs of Mount Nablus, Ramla and Jerusalem shared the elaborate mystic theosophy developed by Sufis of their age, but they definitely adhered to Sufi-like piety. This particular trend in medieval Islam appreciated supererogatory prayer, weeping while reading the Qur'ān, excessive altruism and

<sup>14</sup> Donald S. Richards, "A Text of 'Imād al-Dīn on 12th Century Frankish-Muslim Relations", *Arabica* 25 (1978), 202-4.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Tūlūn, *Al-Qalā'id*, p. 67; and see Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl 'ala Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, 2 vols in 1 ed. Muḥammad H. al-Fiḳī (Cairo, 1952-53), 2:61.

<sup>16</sup> Namely, belonging to the school of law and theology established by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in the ninth century. Ḥanbalism became a meaningful solidarity group in following generations, especially in Baghdad. It was introduced to Syria and Palestine at the beginning of the eleventh century. See Henri Laoust, "Ḥanābila", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (Leiden, 1986), 3:158-62.

generosity, frugality and great care not to enjoy goods that might have been achieved by dubious ways.<sup>17</sup> All those modes of behaviour, in varying combinations, are mentioned by Ḍiyā's informants as typical of their shaykhs. Terms such as *qutb* and *abdāl*,<sup>18</sup> *zāhid* and *faqīr*,<sup>19</sup> so abundant in Sufi literature, appear as well, usually to describe strangers who do not regularly abide in the villages of Mount Nablus. "The *zāhid* [ascetic] of Damascus" is the epithet of Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan, the shaykh of a Syrian merchant who had arrived at the Palestinian village of Dajayna. With a "recommendation" from the ascetic, the merchant asks for an escort to accompany him to Ascalon. Hearing the name of the merchant's patron, his host in Dajayna cannot refuse the request, in spite of his misgivings. In Dhahabī's biographical dictionary, compiled in the fourteenth century, the same Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan appears as a Sufi saint who used to retire to the mountains to live on carob and acorns. He even impressed some Franks; according to one of Dhahabī's informants the Franks said: "Had you [Muslims] amongst you another [man] like Abū al-Ḥasan, we would have followed your religion". Another informant reported that having seen him ride a lion, "the infidels say: lions and tigers are like pets for Abū al-Ḥasan".<sup>20</sup>

The central single feature of religious life in this particular community of twelfth-century Palestinian Muslim villages seems to have been the domination of the shaykh – an admired "friend of God" who gave charismatic religious and secular leadership, without necessarily holding any official religious or secular post. He

<sup>17</sup> On Sufism see, for example, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, 1984) and George Makdisi, "The Ḥanbalite School and Sufism", *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 15 (1979), 115-26.

<sup>18</sup> Ranks in the hierarchy of saints who uphold the world, acknowledged in Sufi and popular literature and belief.

<sup>19</sup> Ascetic and poor, or: Sufi.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaūṭ and Muḥammad N. al-ʿArqasūsi, 25 vols (Beirut, 1988), 20:380-4.

was believed to possess superior powers and superior knowledge of religion, and of other human beings' hidden thoughts, deeds and future. The shaykhs used the abilities they were blessed with for intervention and intercession on behalf of their followers, catering, among other things, to the special needs of people under occupation and threat of violence.<sup>21</sup>

Women played an active role in the religious life of the community. One of the fourteen entries of the *Karāmāt* is a short biography of a shaykha, blessed with knowledge of things hidden from the eye, and with the miraculous ability to warm a dish without fire. Her husband concedes that since her death, *baraka* (blessing) ceased to dwell in his home.<sup>22</sup> Unnatural powers estimated as negative (in contrast with those of the shaykhs, which are considered to be the result of divine blessing) are also attributed to a woman, or to be more accurate – to a female *jinn*. The lady in question was married to a man who had caused great consternation among the shaykhs of Mount Nablus. The man, described as deviating from the *sunna* (right path) of the Prophet, could feed people honey and olive oil from the tip of his finger. Thus he became extremely popular with villagers. He himself ascribed his success to his wife, telling Ḍiyā's informant: "I was married to a woman of the *jinn* ... a sister of an angel, or his daughter, and her helpers used to pour honey or oil on my hand whenever I wished it. When she died it all stopped".<sup>23</sup>

Other, more ordinary women, are depicted praying in the mosque, visiting shaykhs and transmitting knowledge about them. Their devotion to the shaykhs might have even been at the expense of strict observance of Islamic law. In two cases women were rebuked for presents they had prepared for the shaykhs: one had

<sup>21</sup> For details see Talmon-Heller, "The Shaykh".

<sup>22</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 92a.

<sup>23</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 94b. Compare a similar claim brought before an Egyptian court around 1980 in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "Muḥammad Mutawallī al-Sha'arāwī - a Portrait of a Contemporary 'Ālim in Egypt", in *Islam, Nationalism and Radicalism in Egypt and the Sudan*, ed. Gabriel Warburg and Uri Kupferschmidt (New York, 1983), pp. 281-97.



included in her basket of fruit a cluster of grapes she had picked in a neighbour's vineyard; the other disturbed a man in prayer, asking him to hand her a spindle, while she was weaving a cloth-wrapper for the shaykh.<sup>24</sup>

The following anecdote from the *Karāmāt* portrays both women's equal participation in public religious occasions, such as the Friday noon prayer, and their lower social status in the community. "One Friday", recalls Ḍiyā's narrator,

I went with my mother to take part in the public prayer in their village [the village of Funduq]. There were lots of people there. The shaykh came and brought bread wrapped in a cloth, and a bowl of stew. I was hungry, and I said to myself: "I alone could eat all that". Then the shaykh broke the bread up, and put his finger in the stew, and a group of people sat to eat. After they had had their fill another group came and ate. This happened three times, and still it seemed to me as if the bread and stew remained untouched. Then the food was taken up to the women [to an upper gallery?], and both women-villagers and outsiders ate from it.<sup>25</sup>

#### ENCOUNTERS WITH FRANKS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

Muslims were not persecuted in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, but neither did they enjoy peace and security under Frankish rulers. Life and property were repeatedly endangered by robbers, regular and irregular armed forces and hostile neighbours.

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn records several violent incidents, or fear of such incidents, experienced by villagers of Jabal Nablus. A story told by a man from the village of Dajayna, whose father, Khalīl, accom-

<sup>24</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 95a.

<sup>25</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 97a.

panied the Syrian merchant mentioned above on his way to Ascalon, may serve as an example.

They travelled by night ... My father said: "I went first, to be on the lookout ... Two men, I mean Franks, came for wood, putting the two men [the merchant and his servant] and the beasts in danger. I didn't [couldn't?] warn them, and when I saw them again, they were with the Franks, tied up, and the beasts with the cargo [a cargo of silk and silver bowls] were taken. I went back. Ri'ān [the wise shaykh who advised Khalīl not to go], who was in our house said: 'Didn't I tell you?'"<sup>26</sup>

The intervention of the shaykh is more explicit in the following story of eleven men, busy harvesting near the village of Safarīn. One of them later told Ḍiyā': "A party of the infidels (*kuffār*) arrived. We were afraid and said: 'God, in honour of the shaykhs, save us from them'. And we stayed where we were, and they passed near us and went away as if they hadn't seen us".<sup>27</sup> Shaykh 'Abd Allah of Salmiyya (or al-Sawiyya), who on his way to al-Bīrah came across a group of Franks, went through a similar experience. He summarises his story saying: "Those infidels that came from over the sea, they say that whenever they see a Muslim they cause him harm".<sup>28</sup> The addition of the epithet "that came from over the sea" perhaps indicates that here the speaker means "newcomers", making a distinction between old-timers and newcomers among the Franks, just as did Usāma b. Munqidh, who speaks most unfavourably of the "uncultivated" Franks who had recently arrived from Europe.<sup>29</sup>

An encounter that begins with violence and ends on a conciliatory tone is found in the biographical dictionary of Dhahabī. Shaykh 'Abd Allah b. Yūnus al-Armīnī (d. 1233), a wandering Sufi recluse, was captured by a group of Frankish robbers in Mount

<sup>26</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 92.

<sup>27</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 93a.

<sup>28</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, *Karāmāt*, fo. 98b.

<sup>29</sup> Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *al-Itibār*, p. 134, trans. p. 163.

Lebanon. After having tied him up, they fell into a drunken sleep. When Muslim robbers arrived, the shaykh woke his captors and showed them the way to a cave where they could hide. Asked why he did so instead of saving himself with the aid of his fellow-Muslims, he replied: "You have given me food, and our law of *ṣuḥba* [companionship] forbids me to save myself by your destruction". The grateful Franks offered him a present, but the ascetic refused to accept it.<sup>30</sup>

The human contact and charity both sides show at the end of al-Armīn's story do not change the overall picture. On the whole, the attitude of Muslim villagers towards the Franks is characterised by fear and detachment.

A few Muslims, those belonging to the elite that were neither massacred during the conquest of towns nor went into exile, had more elaborate relationships with the Franks. Some were even employed by them in positions of trust. Ḥamdān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Athāribī (1071-1147/48) is one such example.<sup>31</sup> The biographical dictionary of Ibn al-ʿAdīm (1193-1262), dedicated to the people of Aleppo, tells his story in detail.

Ḥamdān was a learned man, well-versed in literature, history, astronomy and medicine, and author of an unfortunately lost Aleppo chronicle, including a history of the Franks, called *al-Mufawwak*. During his life, he moved back and forth from Frankish to Muslim territory, sometimes in the service of Muslim or Frankish lords, sometimes just roaming around northern Syria, to enjoy wine, good company and women-singers. He was one of very few Muslims who received land from the Franks. Towards the end of 1127, the Frankish lord Alan of Athārib, whom he had cured of a disease,

<sup>30</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 22:367; and in Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaūṭ and Muḥammad al-Arnaūṭ, 11 vols (Beirut, 1986-1995), 7:256; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, 8:454.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fi ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 12 vols (Beirut, 1988), 6:2926-32. First mentioned, with other cases, by Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 41-42, 343-44.

gave him the village of Maʿar Bunīya, in the principality of Antioch. It was deserted when he received it, but he settled there, built houses and brought peasants who rebuilt the ruins, cultivated the land and harvested crops again. His correspondence with family and friends may teach us something about the attitude of Muslim urban scholars towards country life in general, and habitation in Frankish-ruled territory in particular. One of his teachers – Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī Jarāda – reproached him for staying under Frankish rule. Ḥamdān answered him in an apologetic poem, addressed to “the one saying ‘Shame on you!’”, confessing his love for the wretched village, to which misfortune and turbulent times have brought him, and to which he now is attached like a pearl to its oyster. His unusual love for the village (unshared by his wife, who refused to stay with him there) is expressed again in a letter he sent to his former neighbours after having left Maʿar Bunīya. In rhymed verses, he recalls with sorrow the scent of the lavender, the fruit orchards and the pleasantness of rustic life.

No less apologetic in tone is one of the elders of Tyre, who tells Ibn Jubayr in 1184 why he stayed in his home town after it had been occupied in 1124. He explains that people from Tyre, besieged in the Great Mosque, had planned to submit their families to their own swords and then fight to death, so as not to surrender to the Franks. Finally they were convinced by their religious men to escape to Muslim lands instead. But “there were some whose love of native land impelled them to return and, under the conditions of safeguard which were written for them, to live amongst the infidels”. Ibn Jubayr does not hide his own opinion: “There can be no excuse in the eyes of God for a Muslim to stay in infidel country, save when passing through it”, he says.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 306, trans. p. 321.

Peasants in the vicinity of Tyre, so we learn from Ibn Jubayr, not only stayed under Frankish rule, but were even – shamefully, in his opinion – content with their Frankish masters.<sup>33</sup> Obviously, not all Muslim villagers shared this attitude. Resentment of Frankish rule is echoed in the following passage of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's tract: "Abū Tāhir told me that his father heard Shaykh 'Abd Allah from Funduq say that people complained to him about what they encounter from the Franks, and said: "When shall we be liberated from them?" He said: "They shall not last till the end of this century, and the proof is that they do not return that which has been entrusted to their care, and their rule is that of despotism".<sup>34</sup>

Resistance expressed itself in different forms. Shaykh 'Abd Allah of Salmiyya

had a son named 'Abd al-Mālik, whom the Franks, may God curse them, took to Jerusalem, saying: "This is the son of their priest (*ibn qasīsihim*); they will give for him any sum of money we ask for". But the shaykh said: "By God, I shall never pay even one dinar for him, and support them thereby".

Even a dream that makes him realise that he shall not live to see his son released does not change his mind.<sup>35</sup> Nor does the fact that ransoming fellow Muslims from captivity is considered to be a religious obligation, or that his son might be exposed to the danger of conversion to Christianity.<sup>36</sup>

The rather daring initiative of *hijra* chosen by Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma and his followers – daring in the face of anticipated opposition from the Frankish lord and remaining villagers and the

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, pp. 301-2, trans. p. 317.

<sup>34</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdist, *Karāmāt*, fo. 95b. The shaykh probably alludes to the Qu'rān, Sura 4:58.

<sup>35</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdist, *Karāmāt*, fo. 97b.

<sup>36</sup> Conversion to Christianity did indeed occur among captives and slaves. See Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 74-84.

dangers of travelling – was also a form of resistance.<sup>37</sup> It was emigration by choice, not flight under fire. The term *hijra*, used by Shaykh Aḥmad himself, connotes a religious motive, namely that of leaving the land of infidels to Muslim territory, an emigration towards God, in imitation of the prophets Abraham and Muḥammad.<sup>38</sup>

What do the sources tell us about armed struggle? As far as we know, local popular forces participated in the *jihād* only when a Muslim regular army was around.<sup>39</sup> Emigrants from Ibn Qudāma's community, especially those who left young and acquired religious learning in Damascus, were active as propagandists of war against the Franks. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn himself, and his uncles Shaykh Abū 'Umar (head of the emigré community in Damascus), the theologian and jurisconsult Muwaffaq al-Dīn and the *muḥaddith* (traditionalist) 'Abd al-Ghāni al-Maqdisī even occasionally accompanied the armies of the Ayyubids and irregular raiding forces. They used to preach in mosques and streets, and composed literature in praise of *jihād*, al-Quds (Jerusalem) and al-Shām (Syria).<sup>40</sup> Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's *Karāmāt Mashā'ikh al-Arḍ al-Muqaddasa* portrays men and women of a rural Palestinian community, resentful of their foreign rulers and little affected by their laws and culture, clinging to their religion and

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Tūlūn, *Al-Qalā'id*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>38</sup> See the Qu'rān, Sura 4:97-100; 29:26 and Wilfred Madelung, "Has the Hijra Come to an End?", *Revue des études islamiques* 54 (1986), 225-37. We know nothing of the specific religious affiliations of the men of Tyre, but as information accumulates it seems more and more likely that Ḥanbalites were the strictest in their opposition to non-Muslim rule. I recently came upon another case of a Ḥanbalite *imām* (!) from the village of al-Sawiyya, who left for Egypt when the Franks came. His son 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibrahīm al-Maqdisī (1160-1226) returned to his native region with Saladin, to serve as the *imām* of the Western (Ḥanbalite) mosque of Nablus, for two years (Ibn Tūlūn, *al-Qalā'id*, p. 427; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 22:269-71).

<sup>39</sup> Kedar, "Subjected Muslims", p. 155.

<sup>40</sup> See Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade. Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968), pp. 106-8, 141-43.

charismatic shaykhs in a period of constant instability and insecurity. Therefore, the tract itself may well be an expression of the same spirit.

*Hebrew University, Jerusalem*





## Baldwin the Leper as War Leader

Bernard Hamilton

John of Joinville relates how in 1250 St Louis' armourer went to Damascus to buy horns and glue to make crossbows. While there he saw a very aged man sitting in the bazaar, who asked him whether he was a Christian. He replied that he was. Then the old man said: "... I have seen a time when King Baldwin of Jerusalem, the one who was a leper, beat Saladin, though he had but three hundred men in arms against Saladin's three thousand ...".<sup>1</sup>

Now this story may well have been inserted for purposes of edification, and not be a piece of accurate reporting, but in that case it must at least reflect the French image of the Leper King sixty-five years after his death. Yet although it is not in the least surprising that the Franks should have looked back to his reign with nostalgia at a time when Jerusalem was still in Christian hands, it is astonishing that Baldwin IV should have been remembered as a battle leader, because during most of his reign he was severely physically handicapped. Yet it was a true perception, for Baldwin was a very exceptional young man.

Piers Mitchell has recently analysed the symptoms of Baldwin's illness which are described in contemporary sources, and

<sup>1</sup> John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1868), p. 159, cited in the translation by René Hague, *The Life of St. Louis* (London, 1955), p. 137.

has shown beyond any reasonable doubt that he suffered from lepromatous leprosy, the most virulent form of the disease.<sup>2</sup> It begins with slight paralysis of the hand muscles, and takes between three and five years to incubate. Then muscular lesions appear, small discolorations of the skin scattered evenly over the patient's body. At a later stage infiltrated lesions develop which produce nodules, and these may ulcerate and attack the ears, eyes and nose. The patient becomes progressively vulnerable to secondary infections, and in the final stages of the illness may suffer from deformities of the hands and feet.<sup>3</sup> The first symptom of Baldwin IV's illness appeared when he was a child and lost all feeling in his right arm and hand.<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Khayr, a native Christian, was engaged by his father, King Amalric, to give his son riding lessons,<sup>5</sup> and was clearly an excellent teacher, for William of Tyre tells us that Baldwin "was a good-looking child ... and more skilled than men who were older than himself in controlling horses and in riding them at a gallop".<sup>6</sup>

Because Baldwin was only thirteen when he became king in 1174, Raymond III, count of Tripoli, was (after some delay) appointed regent. The greatest menace to Frankish security came from Saladin, ruler of Egypt, who seized Damascus in 1174 and began to encroach on the Zengid lands to the north, thus threatening to encircle the crusader states. Raymond nevertheless was anxious to avoid a confrontation and made peace with Saladin in 1175, allowing him to consolidate his gains. This policy changed as soon as Baldwin attained his majority in 1176 at the age of fifteen,<sup>7</sup> for the young king refused to ratify the peace treaty. Saladin was trying

<sup>2</sup> Piers D. Mitchell, "Leprosy and the Case of Baldwin IV of Jerusalem: Mycobacterial Disease in the Crusader States of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *International Journal of Leprosy* 61 (1993), 283-91.

<sup>3</sup> P. E. C. Manson-Bahr, and F. I. C. Apted, *Manson's Tropical Diseases*, 18th edn (London, 1982), pp. 298-322.

<sup>4</sup> WT pp. 961-62.

<sup>5</sup> Claude Cahen, "Indigènes et croisés", *Syria* 15 (1934), 351-60.

<sup>6</sup> "Erat autem iuxta illius conditionem etatis forma venusta et preter morem maiorum suorum equis admittendis regendisque aptissimus" (WT p. 962).

<sup>7</sup> John of Ibelin, *Livre*, c. 169, RHC Lois, 1:260.

to gain control of the Assassin castles near Aleppo during that summer, but was distracted by two Frankish raids, in both of which the king took part, one in the region round Damascus, and the other in the Beka'a valley.<sup>8</sup> William of Tyre, a supporter of Raymond of Tripoli, implies that these raids happened in 1175 while Raymond was regent, but Arabic sources date them to the following year.<sup>9</sup> Baldwin was the official commander-in-chief of the army, but real power rested with the constable of the kingdom, Humphrey II of Toron. The king went on campaign from the start of his reign despite his illness, but fighting was in his case a dangerous business: because he could only use his left hand and needed that to hold a sword, he had to control his horse solely with his knees, and if he was unhorsed he could not remount without help.<sup>10</sup>

Saladin returned to Cairo in the autumn of 1176 and the Franks resolved to destroy the centre of his power by launching a land and sea attack on Egypt with the help of the Byzantine fleet. This policy almost certainly did not originate with the young king but with his chief ministers, his uncle, Joscelin of Courtenay, seneschal of the kingdom, and his more distant kinsman, Reynald of Châtillon, whom Baldwin appointed executive regent in 1177, so that he could fulfil the king's functions should Baldwin be too ill to discharge them himself.<sup>11</sup> The proposed expedition should have been greatly strengthened by the arrival in August 1177 of a small crusade led by the king's cousin, Philip, count of Flanders, but at this juncture the king fell gravely ill and his life was despaired of, and immediately everybody's thoughts turned to the royal succession. Philip quarrelled with the members of the High Court about

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Lewis, "Saladin and the Assassins", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953), 239-45.

<sup>9</sup> William of Tyre implies that these took place in 1175 (WT pp. 975-76); but both Abū Shamah and Ibn al-Athīr date them to A.H. 572 (10 July 1176-29 June 1177): Abū Shamah, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, RHC Or. 4:184; Ibn al-Athīr, *Extrait de la Chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh*, RHC Or. 1:627. Malcolm C. Lyons and David E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 108-10.

<sup>10</sup> This happened at the Battle of Marj Uyun; see below, n. 17.

<sup>11</sup> WT pp. 979-80.

this. The Byzantine commanders who had brought their fleet to Acre were not prepared to wait until the quarrel was resolved but returned to Constantinople in anger; and in October Philip left the kingdom, also in anger, accompanied by some of the local Franks, and fulfilled his crusading vow by attacking the lands of Aleppo, even though it was a friendly power.<sup>12</sup>

Contrary to expectations King Baldwin recovered from his illness and was almost immediately confronted by an Egyptian invasion. Saladin had stationed his armies on his eastern frontier to repel the Frankish attack, but when he learned that the main Frankish army had gone to the north, he invaded the kingdom and marched on Jerusalem. Despite his recent illness Baldwin sent out the *arrière ban* ordering all able-bodied Franks to join the royal host, and himself rode out at the head of such forces as he could muster. Although there are no reliable statistics, all sources agree that the Frankish army was far smaller than Saladin's. The two armies met at Mont Gisard on 25 November and the Franks, under the brilliant command of Prince Reynald (a fact noted by the Arabic historians although ignored by William of Tyre), won a remarkable victory. Saladin's army was routed, one of his nephews was killed, the Franks captured his baggage train, and the Sultan barely escaped with his life. Years later Saladin said to his vizier Ibn Shaddad: "Although it was so great a disaster, God, blessed be His name, made it good in the end by the famous victory at Hattin".<sup>13</sup> The king took no part in the pursuit of Muslim stragglers, for no doubt the battle had placed a great strain on his frail health, but he subsequently led his army back to Jerusalem for a service of thanksgiving to God for the victory, and he endowed as an act of thanksgiving a Benedictine monastery on the field of Mont Gisard, dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria on whose feast-day the battle had been fought.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> WT pp. 979-86.

<sup>13</sup> Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, A.H. 573, p. 189.

<sup>14</sup> For an account of Reynald's role in the battle see Bernard Hamilton, "The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon", *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978), 100; Denys Pringle, "No. 122. Priory Church of St. Catherine", *The*

As a result of this victory, 1178 was a peaceful year. The Franks spent much of it building the castle of Chastellet to defend Jacob's Ford, the point where the main route from Damascus to Tiberias crossed the Jordan. The king considered this project so important that he kept the host under arms at this site throughout the winter of 1178-79 to protect the builders, and ran the kingdom from his camp there. This castle was entrusted to the Knights Templar.<sup>15</sup>

In the spring of 1179 Baldwin took part in a cattle raid in the forest of Banyas. His suite was surprised by a detachment of troops from Damascus, and the king's horse took fright and bolted. Although Baldwin escaped unharmed, the old constable, Humphrey of Toron, was mortally wounded while protecting him and died soon afterwards.<sup>16</sup> From then onwards, it appears to me, the king himself took over the direction of military affairs. In early June Saladin camped with his main army near Banyas just across the frontier, and the king summoned the host to Toron. There he learned that a party of Muslim cavalry had set out to raid the countryside around Sidon, and he planned to intercept them in the hills of the Marj Uyun as they returned burdened with plunder. In this he was successful, but Saladin received news of the attack and brought his main army against the royal party. The result was a Frankish rout. The royal bodyguard succeeded in fighting its way to safety, although the king was unhorsed in the battle and, because he was not able to remount, had to be carried from the field on the back of a Frankish knight, but many eminent men were captured or killed.<sup>17</sup> The kingdom had little respite: in August, Saladin invaded again and besieged the Templar castle of Chastellet on 25 August. The fortress fell to a direct assault four days later, while the host which

*Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus* (Cambridge, 1993), 1:274.

<sup>15</sup> WT pp. 997-98; *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 51-53. Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 303-5; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> WT pp. 998-1000.

<sup>17</sup> William of Tyre gives an account of the battle (WT pp. 1000-2); but the incident of the king's being unhorsed is only related by Muslim sources: Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 139-41.

King Baldwin had summoned to Tiberias was still waiting for the standard of the kingdom, the relic of the True Cross, to be brought from Jerusalem. This was a great setback for the Franks, because the fortress was razed to the ground and the Templars captured there were all killed.<sup>18</sup>

Baldwin was now eighteen: during his three years of personal rule he had been regularly involved in military activity. Nevertheless, his health was poor and he wanted to abdicate. He was trying to arrange a marriage between his elder sister Sibylla and Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy, and he clearly had the intention of abdicating in their favour. This marriage did not take place, for at Easter 1180 there was an attempted coup by Raymond III of Tripoli and Bohemond III of Antioch, which was foiled by Baldwin's marrying his sister Sibylla, who was his heir, to Guy of Lusignan. This marriage was unpopular and proved politically divisive, and as a consequence Baldwin had to remain on the throne despite his worsening health. For the first time during his personal rule he had to seek peace with Saladin: a two-year truce was arranged and, exceptionally, the Sultan paid no tribute to the Franks in return for it.<sup>19</sup>

Saladin spent much of that time in Egypt, but when the truce expired in May 1182 he brought his army back to Damascus. This involved crossing the Sinai desert to Eilat, from where he had a choice of routes. The easier road lay through Transjordan, where water supplies were plentiful, but which was under Frankish control. The other road ran to the east through the deep desert from Maan to Damascus, where wells were far apart and travel was slow. Saladin sent all the non-combatants by the latter route, but took his army through Frankish territory. But King Baldwin mustered the host at the castle of Kerak to the east of the Dead Sea, and Saladin, who did

<sup>18</sup> WT p. 1003; Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, pp. 203-11; Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 86; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 141-43.

<sup>19</sup> William of Tyre complained in vague terms that this truce gave no advantage to the Franks: "numquam antea dicitur contigisse, paribus legibus fedus initum est ..." (WT p. 1008). Saladin's secretary, al-Fāḍil, clarified this issue, explaining that the sultan did not have to pay the customary tribute to obtain a truce: Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 147.

not wish to offer battle, perhaps because his men had been weakened by the Sinai crossing, led his force to al-Azrak some fifty miles east of Kerak, where he joined up with the non-combatants who were travelling by the desert road.<sup>20</sup> By blocking Saladin's march through Transjordan, Baldwin preserved this strategically vital part of his kingdom. This was a correct decision even though this policy involved leaving the northern provinces without adequate defence, so that the governor of Damascus was able to capture the great cave fortress of al-Habis Jaldak, which protected the cornlands of eastern Galilee,<sup>21</sup> for had Saladin been able to annex Transjordan the survival of the Frankish kingdom would have been at risk. By July 1182 Saladin had reached Damascus, and it was clear he was massing his army there with the intention of invading the kingdom. Baldwin therefore assembled the host once more at Saffuriya in Galilee. The two armies met at Le Forbelet in the Jordan valley where the heat was so intense that the canon of the Holy Sepulchre, who was carrying the relic of the True Cross, died from heat-stroke. But it was a victory for the Franks, and Saladin retired having made no gains.<sup>22</sup>

Baldwin kept the host assembled and this proved wise, for a month later Saladin directed an attack both by land and by sea against Beirut. This was the weakest point in the kingdom's defences, and the sultan wished to secure this port to facilitate communications with Egypt. Although the governor of Egypt mounted a diversionary attack in the south of the crusader kingdom, Baldwin remained calm. Ordering his commanders to ignore the south, he raised a fleet of twenty-four ships from the Italian merchants at Acre, and he brought the host to Tyre in order to relieve Beirut by land and sea. This strategy was successful, and Saladin lifted the siege.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, A.H. 578, p. 218; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Attevarykh*, A.H. 578, p. 651.

<sup>21</sup> WT pp. 1028-29; David Nicolle, "Ain al-Habis: The Cave de Sueth", *Archéologie médiévale* 18 (1988), pp. 113-40.

<sup>22</sup> WT p. 1032.

<sup>23</sup> WT pp. 1033-36; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Attevarykh*, A.H. 578, p. 653; Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, A.H. 578, p. 223; Kamal ad-Din, "L'histoire

The sultan, having been beaten off from the kingdom of Jerusalem, campaigned in northern Iraq in the autumn of 1182. Damascus was left only lightly defended, and Baldwin took advantage of this and conducted an extensive raid. He first attacked the environs of the city, and then rode on to Bosra, ninety miles to the south, the first stop on the desert road from Damascus to Egypt. Although he failed to capture it, his force, returning to Galilee by way of the Yarmuk valley, recaptured the great cave fortress of al-Habis Jaldak,<sup>24</sup> thereby restoring full control over eastern Galilee. The total distance covered by this expedition was over 200 miles, which indicates that Baldwin's health had stabilised again. In December he presided over a council of war at Caesarea: William of Tyre tells us that as a result of this the king led a fresh attack on the outskirts of Damascus, while Raymond of Tripoli once more raided Bosra.<sup>25</sup> What William does not mention is the simultaneous attack by Reynald of Châtillon against Eilat and against Muslim shipping in the Red Sea. That is known almost solely from Arabic sources.<sup>26</sup> The two offensives were directed to the same end: to cut Saladin's communications between Damascus and Egypt. Even though this strategy did not succeed, Saladin was criticised by orthodox Muslims, including the caliph, since he appeared to be neglecting his duties as protector of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina in order to fight against Sunnite princes in Iraq.<sup>27</sup>

The campaigns of 1182 had strained the financial resources of the kingdom, and in February 1183 Baldwin summoned a *curia generalis* to Jerusalem which levied a general tax for the defence of

d'Alep", trans. Edgard Blochet, *ROL* 4 (1896), 159-60; Baha ad-Din, *Life of Saladin*, trans. Claude R. Conder, Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society (London, 1897), p. 82.

<sup>24</sup> WT pp. 1038-42.

<sup>25</sup> WT pp. 1042-43.

<sup>26</sup> Hamilton, "Elephant of Christ", 103-4; the only Frankish source to mention the expedition treats it as a voyage of exploration rather than as a military expedition: Ernoul, ed. de Mas Latrie, pp. 69-70.

<sup>27</sup> See Saladin's letter of justification: Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, A.H. 577, pp. 214-17.



the realm.<sup>28</sup> By this time his health was beginning to deteriorate severely. William of Tyre describes what are the classic symptoms of advanced lepromatous leprosy:

He had lost his sight and the extremities of his body became completely diseased and damaged so that he was unable to use his hands and feet. Yet although some people suggested to him that he should abdicate and lead a retired life, drawing an income from the royal demesne, he had refused to surrender either the royal office or the government of the kingdom, for although his body was weak and powerless, yet he was strong in spirit and made a superhuman effort to disguise his illness and shoulder the burdens of kingship.<sup>29</sup>

The king refused to abdicate because he realised that his heir, Guy of Lusignan, the husband of his elder sister, Sibylla, did not command the support of an important section of the nobility: Raymond III, count of Tripoli and prince of Galilee, Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, and his brother Balian, lord of Nablus, were all hostile to him. Since no-one but the heir could be appointed regent, Baldwin had to remain king in order to preserve unity which the growth in Saladin's power made essential.<sup>30</sup>

In August 1183 Saladin brought his main army to Damascus, much strengthened by his annexation of Aleppo and other parts of north Syria. The king summoned the host to Saffuriya, but was unable to command it, because he developed a high fever. He therefore had to appoint Guy as regent, but when Saladin invaded a

<sup>28</sup> WT p. 1044; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The General Tax of 1183 in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: Innovation or Adaptation?", *English Historical Review* 89 (1974), 339-45.

<sup>29</sup> WT p. 1049.

<sup>30</sup> Guy's marriage had been arranged in order to thwart an attempted coup by Raymond III and Bohemond III (WT pp. 1007-8); while the Ibelins took a leading part in opposing Guy's succession as king in 1186: *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1982), pp. 30-35.

few weeks later Baldwin's worst fears were fulfilled, for the Frankish commanders refused to obey Guy's orders.<sup>31</sup> Although Raymond C. Smail argued that Guy's refusal to fight was a sensible course of action, because Saladin could make no conquests while the Frankish army was undefeated, this is debatable. Guy was certainly very much criticised for his inaction at the time because the Muslim forces caused a good deal of damage in Galilee, even though Guy had a huge army under his command. Moreover, it seems that Guy was forced to keep his army in camp not because he wished to do so, but because the other commanders would not accept him as battle-leader.<sup>32</sup>

Although Saladin withdrew to Damascus at the end of this campaign, he soon returned to the attack and laid siege to the castle of Kerak in Transjordan. This was a very serious matter: the king's other sister, Isabel, was being married there when the siege began and she and the other important guests would have been very expensive to ransom. Moreover, control of Kerak would have assured Saladin of an easy passage for his armies from Damascus to Eilat. The Sultan took the siege very seriously and arranged for the armies of Damascus and Egypt to converge on the castle.<sup>33</sup> Baldwin, who had recovered from his fever, acted decisively by summoning the High Court, deposing Guy from the regency, resuming the government himself, and accompanying the army to the relief of Kerak. The count of Tripoli was placed in military command, but the king was present because that was the only way in which he could ensure that faction was held in check among his commanders. Presumably Baldwin was carried in a litter, though the sources do not tell us this. It was an immensely brave undertaking for a man who was so very ill, and the strategy worked, for as the royal army

<sup>31</sup> WT pp. 1048-55 (p. 1054 for the refusal of the commanders to cooperate with Guy).

<sup>32</sup> Raymond C. Smail, "The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan", in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 159-76; WT pp. 1054-55.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Maqrizi, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, A.H. 579, trans. Ronald J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), p. 72.

approached Saladin withdrew into the desert and Kerak was saved together with its guests.<sup>34</sup>

Baldwin remained king until his death. In July 1184 Saladin once again attacked Kerak, and the Ernoul abridgement relates that Baldwin accompanied the army which marched to its relief, a view which is partly corroborated by the letter written in the king's name to the patriarch of Jerusalem who was in the West seeking help.<sup>35</sup> It was only after this event, I would argue, that the king became so ill that he appointed Raymond of Tripoli as regent.<sup>36</sup> Baldwin died on the Monday of Holy Week in 1185 and was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, near Mount Calvary, which he had striven so hard throughout his short reign to defend.<sup>37</sup>

He was not quite twenty-four years old. Few men as ill as Baldwin was for most of his adult life have ever held the reins of government: none, so far as I am aware, have consistently gone into

<sup>34</sup> WT pp. 1055-60; Abu Shamah, *Deux jardins*, A.H. 579, p. 248; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Altevarykh*. A.H. 579, pp. 664-65; Kamal ad-Din, "L'histoire d'Alep", p. 170.

<sup>35</sup> This account, which is placed by Ernoul before the siege of Kerak in 1183, nevertheless appears to relate to the second siege of Kerak in 1184, because it gives details of Saladin's attempts to fill the fosse, which Arabic sources ascribe to the second siege only (Ernoul, ed. de Mas Latrie, pp. 80-81); in his letter to the patriarch, Baldwin speaks of the Frankish forces arriving to relieve Kerak in 1184 as *adventus noster*, although that may merely be intended as a reference to the army of the kingdom: Ralph of Diss, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 68, 2 vols (London, 1876), 2:28.

<sup>36</sup> I intend to publish my full reasons for supposing this in a monograph on the reign of Baldwin IV. Briefly, I do not think that the events related in the final chapter of William of Tyre's chronicle all took place in the early months of 1184 as is normally assumed: William himself does not state that they did (WT pp. 1062-64). The Old French Continuation places Raymond of Tripoli's appointment as regent in 1185: "En ce que le roi Baudoyne estoit en son lit mortel, il fist venir devant soi tous les homes liges dou reiaume de Jerusalem, et lor comanda qu'il fussent tenus par sairement au conte Reimont de Triple que il le receussent a baill dou reume ...": *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem. 2. Die Todesdaten König Balduins IV und König Balduins V", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 35 (1979), 552-55 (here 551).

battle. Yet although he was so signally disabled, Baldwin was, first and foremost, a warrior king, and his most fitting memorial is that of the Lombard chronicler, Sicard of Cremona:

Although he suffered from leprosy from childhood, yet he strenuously preserved the frontiers of the kingdom of Jerusalem and won a remarkable victory over Saladin at Mont Gisard and as long as he lived he was victorious.<sup>38</sup>

*University of Nottingham*

<sup>38</sup> Sicard of Cremona, *Chronicon*, PL 213:512.

## The Cyclical Views of History in Late Thirteenth-Century Acre

Aryeh Grabois

In the second half of the thirteenth century it became obvious for large segments of contemporary public opinion that the crusades had failed to achieve their objectives.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, since 1261, in the aftermath of their victory over the Mongols at 'Ain-Jalut, the Mamlūks had even threatened the very existence of the tiny crusader states of the Levant; thus, after the loss of Saphed in 1266, and of Antioch in 1268, the remnants of Frankish Outremer were at the mercy of the Mamlūk sultans. Nevertheless, the crusader nobility of Acre perceived these events unrealistically and remained insensible to the new conditions, continuing to act according to their chivalrous behaviour and to their profane manner of life, giving rise to a sharp criticism by moralists and pilgrims. Some of them, like Burchard of Mount Zion, openly accused them of being the worst element of the Holy Land's population, by polluting the "holy soil" and by bringing the Holy Land into contempt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Among the different studies, see Joshua Prawer, *The World of the Crusaders* (London, 1972), pp. 469-533 and, in contrast, Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940).

<sup>2</sup> Burchard of Mount Zion, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Johann C. M. Laurent, in *Peregrinationes Medii Aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 86-88; see Aryeh Grabois, "Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion", in *Outremer: Studies in the*

By contrast, the learned segments of the society of Acre, whether Jewish scholars, or the mendicant friars, who were engaged in the "spiritual crusade", that is, in the effort of missionising Muslims and Eastern Christians and converting them to the Roman Catholic faith, were aware of the changing conditions and discussed them in their respective schools. However, these events were differently interpreted by the mendicant and Jewish thinkers. While the former considered that the expected results of their missionary efforts might perpetuate the Christian domination of the Holy Land,<sup>3</sup> the Jews elaborated a particular view of the new situation, emphasising the failure of both "Edom" and "Ishmael", meaning Christianity and Islam, to settle the "Land of Israel".<sup>4</sup> One of the most important thinkers of the contemporary Jewish world, Nahmanides, emigrated from Aragon to Palestine in the aftermath of his disputation at Barcelona with the Dominican Friars. In 1263, he proceeded to the establishment of the new Jewish quarter in the desolated city of Jerusalem, before settling in Acre, where he elaborated a comprehensive view of the situation. According to his ideas, the Promised Land accepted neither Christians nor Muslims as its lords and inhabitants. He interpreted the political events of this decade in his exegesis on the Pentateuch, completed in Acre before his death, and saw them as evidence of the fulfilment of the biblical promise of the restoration of Israel in its ancient Land. Therefore, Nahmanides called on the Jews of the Diaspora to leave their countries and immediately settle in the "Land of Israel", as the first step of what he considered to be the imminent Messianic process of Salvation.<sup>5</sup>

*History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 185-96.

<sup>3</sup> See Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> See Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 149-68, and Aryeh Grabois (in Hebrew), "Acre as the Gateway of Jewish Immigration to Palestine in the Crusader Period", *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* 2 (1982), 93-105.

<sup>5</sup> Nahmanides, *Comm. in Levit.*, 26:32, ed. Hayyim D. Chavel (Jerusalem, 1963) [translated into English by the editor, in Nahmanides, *Writings and Discourses*, 2 vols (New York, 1978), 1:235]. In contrast to the commonly

This interpretation of Leviticus 26.32 soon became a cornerstone of the mystical exegesis of the Jewish school of Acre, especially in the last decade of its activities, before the conquest of the city by the Mamlūks and its destruction in 1291. It inspired a noted exegete of the Provençal school, Nissim of Marseilles, who probably studied at Acre before its fall and his return to Europe, to develop Nahmanides's arguments, thus elaborating his own views on the history of the Promised Land:

The verse "and your enemies who dwell therein shall be astonished" is indeed very wonderful, for one of the three reasons or all of them together, namely the fame of the beauty of Land, its sanctity in the eyes of all the nations, both near and far, and their desire for it. They covet it, envying those who dwell within it, quarrelling and making war against them, so that the Land is never quiet and free of its enemies. For that reason there are not in the whole Land of Israel large, thickly-populated cities, but most of it is desolate. And when the Jews dwelt there it was "the joy of the whole world", but when the Jews did not dwell there and it was conquered by our enemies, they could not cultivate it from the destruction of the Temple and until today ... And war is always being waged on the inhabitants. The Romans, who drove us into exile, held it for some time, but did not endure. They were driven out by the Ishmaelites, who have remained here till today. Since the destruction of the second Temple the Christians and the Muslims have each usurped one another three times, and neither of them has dwelt in safety ... the Muslims always envied the Christians for living in the chosen Land, and vice-

accepted views of Jewish eschatology, Nahmanides argued that the return of the Jews to the Promised Land should precede the arrival of Messiah.

versa, and therefore till today they have not settled it properly ...<sup>6</sup>

The passage quoted here testifies to the Jewish perception of the conditions in the Holy Land on the eve of the fall of Acre. Our author was well aware of the “world-wide” struggle for its domination, either on religious grounds based on claims of its holiness by both Christians and Muslims, or on the competition of the powers in order to acquire a territory of strategic importance, a country which also was famous “for its beauty”. Having considered these factors, Nissim reached the conclusion that Christians and Muslims alike failed to accomplish their goals, while the result of the endemic wars was the desolation of the country. In order to stress his conclusion, Nissim adopted a cyclical view of the Holy Land’s history, adapted from the model of the week of Creation. Accordingly, the six working days, signifying secularity and profanity, corresponded to the alternation of six periods of the history of Palestine since the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in AD 70 and the fall of Judaea, namely three under Christian rule – the Roman, the Byzantine and the crusader periods, and three under Muslim domination – the Arab caliphate, the Ayyubids and the Mamlūks.<sup>7</sup> However, the failure of these six powers to establish their regimes in the long term and to proceed to a peaceful settlement of the Land, brought our exegete to adopt Nahmanides’s view of an imminent Jewish salvation, which in the terms of his cyclical interpretation of history hinted at the seventh period, that of the restoration of Jewish rule over the Promised Land, symbolised by the holiness of the Sabbath. Moreover, while the six profane periods concerned the past and the present and were characterised by their ephemerality, the seventh, pointing at the future, signified the perennity of the Messianic expectations.

<sup>6</sup> Nissim of Marseilles, “*Ma’aseh Nissim* [Comm. in Pentateuch]”, ed. G. H. Schorr, *Hechalutz* 7 (1865), 102-3.

<sup>7</sup> See M. I. Brayer’s doctoral dissertation, “Nissim of Marseille’s Commentary on the Pentateuch”, in *Dissertation Abstracts* 21 (1971), 6697-98, and Aryeh Grabois, “The Idea of Political Zionism in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries”, in *Festschrift Rëuben R. Hecht*, ed. Benjamin Mazar et al. (Jerusalem, 1983), pp. 67-79.



Independently and from a different perspective, similar views of the Holy Land's history were elaborated at the Franciscan *studium* of Acre, where already by 1270 some of the friars became aware of the fate of the crusaders' realm and its imminent fall and thus were concerned about the conditions of the "liberation of the Holy Land". This topic was discussed in the school in connection with the discovery of a "prophetical text", that predicted the fall of Antioch and the last strongholds of Outremer. The text, entitled *Liber Clementis* because of its attribution to Pope Clement I, was diffused in an Arabic version during the second half of the century and was reproduced in Latin by the order's vicar in the Holy Land, Fidenzio of Padua.<sup>8</sup> It compared the crusader states with the cities of Sodom and Gomorra, emphasising that, as with these ancient cities of sinners, the sins of the Christians caused the fall of their realm:

Tunc Christiani habitabunt in Terra sancta cum magna pace et tranquillitate et regnabunt in Jerusalem quadraginta reges vicissim unus post alium. Post hec Christiani habitatores Terre sancte suis malis operis provocabunt Dominum contra se, et sicut propter multa peccata Christianorum ipsi Christiani dati sunt in manibus filiorum lupi, ita tunc Christiani propter peccata sua que facturi sunt, tradentur in manus inimici pessimi, id est Antichristi ...<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, the decay of the crusaders' kingdom became a particular topic of the debates at the Council of Lyons of 1274; besides the decrees and the call for a new crusade,<sup>10</sup> Pope Gregory X instructed Friar Fidenzio to elaborate a treatise on the modalities of the

<sup>8</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber recuperationis Terre sancte*, ed. Girolamo Golubovich, in *Bibliotheca Bio-bibliografica della Terra santa e dell'Oriente franciscano* (Quarrachi, 1911), 2:26: "venit quidam Christianus Surianus portans ad me secum *Librum Clementis* ...".

<sup>9</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>10</sup> J. B. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Jean P. Martin and Louis Petit, 53 vols (Paris, 1901-27; repr. 1960-62), 24: letter of convocation (cols 34-42); canons (cols 63 and 111-13); *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N. P. Tanner, 2 vols (London, 1990) 1:309-12. See Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade*, pp. 69-104.

liberation of the Holy Land. The papal choice of the author was undoubtedly determined by their acquaintance of 1271, when Theobald Visconti sojourned in Acre, prior to his election as pope.<sup>11</sup>

Born c. 1226, Fidenzio joined the Franciscan province of the Holy Land, where he became vicar in 1266 and was involved in the activities of his order in the aftermath of the conquests of Saphed and Antioch by the Mamlūks. It seems that he still held this position, while attending the Council of Lyons; however, during his second stay in the Middle East (1275-90), he did not exercise any administrative function and had dedicated his time to missionary travels and to the training of the younger friars attached to the province.<sup>12</sup> Upon his return to Italy, he heard of the fall of Acre, news that brought him to complete the treatise requested by Gregory and which, entitled *Liber de recuperatione Terre Sancte*, he dedicated to Pope Nicholas IV.<sup>13</sup> However, only the second part of the treatise deals with the means and ways of the projected reconquest, while the first one is in the form of an historical dissertation, reflecting the conceptions developed at the order's *studium* of Acre, probably under his inspiration. In this respect, Fidenzio divided the history of the Holy Land into seven periods, characterised by the various political dominations; similarly, but not identical to Nissim of Marseilles's division, six reflected the past and the present, while the seventh concerned the future:

Sciendum est igitur quod Terra sancta a diversis nationibus diversis temporis est possessa. Primo enim fuit gentilium diversorum. Secundo fuit Judaeorum. Tertio fuit Assyriorum. Quarto Romanorum. Quinto Christianorum. Sexto Sarracenorum. Septimo erit Christianorum.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Prologue*, p. 9. See Golubovich, *Bibliotheca*, p. 4, who mentions the activities of Theobald Visconti during his stay at Acre in the company of Edward I, king of England, before he was advised about his election to the papal see in 1271.

<sup>12</sup> For a biographical sketch of Fidenzio, see Golubovich, pp. 1-7.

<sup>13</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, p. 9, dedicating his treatise to Pope Nicholas IV.

<sup>14</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, p. 9.

But in contrast to the Jewish division, the Franciscan concept of the Holy Land's history includes the period of the Old Testament; on the other hand, the idea of division into seven periods, corresponding to the week of Creation, imposed the grouping of various dominations under one heading; thus, the "Assyrian" period also includes the Babylonian and the Persian, while the Hellenistic epoch was included within the Roman period.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Fidenzio's heading for the fifth period, the "Christian domination", includes the Christian-Roman and the Byzantine epochs, as well as the crusader period, hinting at the ethnic and religious diversity of the Christian elements, which he considered as a sin. Similarly, he grouped together, as the sixth period, the various Muslim dominations of the Holy Land, without distinguishing between them.<sup>16</sup>

Such a division, quite different from those used by Western universal historians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who did not feel themselves limited to an ideological scheme of "seven periods", indicates that this particular idea of assimilating the Holy Land's history to the model of the Genesis week of Creation was an exclusive achievement of the schools of Acre, whatever their religious affiliation might have been. But while the Jewish school elaborated a perfect cyclical alternation, the contemporary Christian *studia* preferred *prima facie* a linear evolution that, at least for the first four periods, did not reflect any cyclical views. However, an attentive reading of Fidenzio's description of the Christian and Muslim periods reveals that from the fourth century, beginning with the reign of the Emperor Constantine and the settlement of his mother St Helena at Jerusalem, the cyclical character of the Holy Land's history became clearly manifest.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>16</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 12-16 (Christian domination), and 16-25 (Muslim domination).

<sup>17</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, p. 12: "Quinto terra premissa fuit Christianorum, quam etiam magno tempore possederunt. Nam sancta Helena, mater imperatoris Constantini Jerosolimam petiit et crucem Domini adinvenit ... Sic etiam plures reges Christiani consenderunt in Jerusalem, sicut patet per effectum et sicut patet per aliquas hystorias; sicut etiat patet per istud librum acquisitionis Terre sancte; sicut etiam patet quia multi patriarche latini in Jerusalem civitate regia consenderunt. Sed hanc Terram sanctissimam Christiani suis magni

Although Fidenzio concentrated his materials within the two main headings, hinting at a chronological sequence, he distinguished between the Byzantine, Arab, crusader, and the various Muslim dynasties, at the point where the cyclical alternation appears in his treatise. Moreover, the emergence and the decay of the two Christian periods are characterised by his emphasis upon the importance of moral and spiritual factors, as determinants of the historical evolution. Accordingly, Fidenzio argued that the Christians lost the Holy Land because of their various religious and moral sins, as well as their internal splits.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, he urged his European contemporaries to unite and proceed to the reform of their manners, in order to regenerate their superior religious and moral values. Such a “good behaviour” (*bonitas*) was in his mind a precondition for overcoming the Saracens whom, like all of his contemporaries, he qualified as “wicked and perverse”.<sup>19</sup>

Such a cyclical scheme had its natural outcome in the seventh period, that of the Christian reconquest of the Holy Land. According to Fidenzio’s ideas, this reconquest was intended to be perennial and characterised by the establishment of a saintly reign in the Holy Land. Indeed, the recovery would need to be, according to the commonly accepted views reflected, for example, by the debates of the Council of Lyons, the outcome of a well-organised military expedition, quite

denumeratis peccatis perdiderunt. Et ideo expedit ut de Christianis qui in Terra sancta habitaverunt et de hiis qui in ea nunc habitant aliquod in medium proferamus”.

<sup>18</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 12-16, according to his methodological approach, Fidenzio first classified the sins that caused the Christians to lose the Holy Land under seven titles: “Infectio, Variatio, Effeminatio, Indiscretio, Divio, Defectio, Derelectio”, making an analogy with the seven deadly sins. Subsequently, he proceeded to their detailed analysis.

<sup>19</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 20-25. Like his contemporaries, the author began his description of Islam with an interpretative biography of Muhammad (pp. 17-19). In that respect, his sources of information were similar to those of the Dominican scholars of Acre, among them William of Tripoli, *Tractatus de statu Sarracenorum* (compiled c. 1273), ed. Heinrich Prutz, in his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 575-98, as well as of his other contemporary, Ricoldo da Montecroce. See Aryeh Grabois, “La ‘découverte’ du monde musulman par les pèlerins européens au XIIIe siècle”, *Al-Masaq* 5 (1992), 29-46.

different from St Francis's ideas of the "spiritual crusade".<sup>20</sup> But, on the other hand, the preparatory stages of this military expedition were based on the reform of manners, in order to achieve the values of "eminence of goodness".<sup>21</sup> Fidenzio argued that such a reform must result in the emergence of a new type of crusaders, characterised by their spirituality, under the leadership of a single chief or commander who, besides his military qualifications, must behave morally, according to the teachings of the Church. Thus, his vision of the recovery of the Holy Land had been formulated in order to avoid a simple restoration of the profane kingdom of Outremer.<sup>22</sup>

The similarity of the cyclical views of history of Christian and Jewish scholars of late thirteenth-century Acre concerns merely their analyses of the past and the present. The difference is manifested in their respective visions of the future, although this future meant for both schools a restoration; for the Christian scholars, this restoration signified the Christian, namely the Roman Catholic recovery of the Holy Land, which did not necessarily imply the restoration of the kingdom of crusaders, especially of its former type of society; for the Jewish mystical exegetes, it meant the expression of their eschatological ideas of the messianic salvation of Israel.

*University of Haifa*

<sup>20</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 27-34 and 41-46.

<sup>21</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 35-41.

<sup>22</sup> Fidenzio de Padua, *Liber*, pp. 58-60.



# **Babylon and Jerusalem**

## **The Fall of Acre 1291-1996**

Sylvia Schein

On the eve of its fall, crusader Acre, capital of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem since 1192, was a wealthy and densely populated maritime emporium, one of the most famous cities in Christendom. Defended by a double line of walls, with numerous towers and a barbican, Acre was considered unconquerable. Yet it was conquered by the Mamlūks of Egypt, headed by their sultan, al-Asharaf Khalīl (the son and successor of Qalāwūn), following a siege of five weeks (6 April-18 May) and a battle of ten days (18-28 May). During the battle, the Franks of Acre tried to flee the city to Cyprus but there were too few ships to rescue the fugitives. When the Mamlūks entered the city, they slew almost everyone, old men, women and children alike. Some were taken alive and sold as slaves. Following the conquest the sultan set about a systematic destruction of the city so that it might never again be a spearhead for a Christian reconquest. Thus crusader Acre with its inhabitants disappeared from the Palestinian coast. When, during the summer of 1291, the remaining Frankish possessions (Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Haifa, Tortosa and Château Pelerin) were abandoned, Outremer ceased to exist.

The fall of Acre was considered a major disaster, to be compared to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. The scope of the reaction is hinted at by Giovanni Boccaccio in his satirical *Il Corbaccio*

(“Evil Crow”) of around 1355. While describing the ritual of beautification of a widow he writes:

It would require more than a week to tell everything that she did to this end, so much did she glory in that artificial loveliness, nay, repulsiveness of hers, to whose preservation she devoted far too much industry, for if the sun, air, day, night, fair weather and foul did not turn out fully to her liking, they offended her terribly ... If, when she had finished washing, by some misfortune a fly were to land on her face, there was such uproar and pandemonium that in comparison the Loss of Acre was a delight for the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

The investigation of the reaction to the fall of Acre, which came to be identified with the loss of the Holy Land, shows that contemporaries explained the event by a highly complex set of reasons. However, by the middle of the fourteenth century, a stereotypical view of the loss came into being, a view which persisted up to the present century. The fall of Acre in 1291 put an end to the weary existence of the Latin kingdom.<sup>2</sup> However, the heroic defence of Acre during the Mamlūk siege and the battle of Acre which followed, provided a splendid epilogue to a history which had begun almost two hundred years earlier with the conquest of Jerusalem by the First Crusade.<sup>3</sup> It was this last chapter of resistance that partly explains the relatively positive character of European

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Corbaccio*, trans. and ed. Anthony K. Cassel (Urbana, 1975), 42-43. For the fall of Acre see Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951-54), 3:387-423; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols (Paris, 1975), 2:539-57. For the reaction see Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 112-39.

<sup>2</sup> Prawer, *Histoire*, 2:359-537. For the criticism of the kingdom at that time see Sylvia Schein, “The Image of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Thirteenth Century”, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 64 (1986), 704-17.

<sup>3</sup> See above, n. 1.



reaction. The responsibility for the fall of Acre was, on the whole, squarely and equally placed on the shoulders of the citizens of Acre and of Christendom as a whole. Some of the Europeans made the inhabitants of Acre the scapegoats – presenting Acre as a den of vice, a contemporary Sodom. Its inhabitants, seen as consumed by lust, were regarded as criminals, drunkards, jugglers and conjurers collected from all over Christendom. They were accused of arrogance, greed, as well as of gross extravagance (*luxuria*) and a frivolous way of life (*livitas*). The condition of Outremer was frequently described in terms of corruption and of the never-ending jealousies and conflicts between the military orders, and especially the Hospital and the Temple, as well as between the Italian communes.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time, however, accusations were hurled also against the papacy, the cardinals and the secular rulers of Europe. They were accused of being so preoccupied with their own ambitions, interests and conflicts that they neglected the Holy Land. Bartholomew of Neocastro wrote (c. 1292) in his *Historia Sicula* a

<sup>4</sup> See for example Thadeo of Naples, *Hystoria de desolacione et conculcacione civitatis Acconensis et tocius Terre Sancte in A.D. MCCXCI*, ed. Paul Riant (Geneva, 1874), pp. 34, 39-40, 50-52, 59-60; Ricoldo of Monte Croce, *Epistolae V commentariae de perditione Acconis 1291*, ed. Reinhard Röhricht, *AOL* 2 (1884), 264-71, 285, 289-92; Weicherd of Polhaim, *Continuatio Weichardi de Polhaim*, *MGH SS*, 11:813; *Eberhardi archidiaconi Ratisponensis annales*, *MGH. SS*, 17:594; *Gesta Boemundi archiepiscopi Treverensis*, *MGH. SS*, 24:474-75; Bernard Gui, *Flores Chronicorum, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1855), 21:70; William Rishanger, *Chronica et annales*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1865), pp. 146-47; Walter of Gyseburne, *Cronica*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957), p. 228. For the criticism of the military orders see also Joshua Prawer, "Military Orders and Crusader Politics in the Second Half of the XIIIth Century", in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 217-229; A. J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries", *Traditio* 36 (1980), 317-45. For the criticism of the communes see Sylvia Schein, "From 'Milites Christi' to 'Mali Christiani': The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature", in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), pp. 681-89; Schein, "The Image", pp. 705-8.

detailed account of the fall of Acre; it is based on the story of one Arsenius, a Greek monk of the Order of St Basil, who when on a pilgrimage, himself saw the calamity and then presented the pope with the sad news of the event. On that occasion, we are told by Bartholomew, Arsenius addressed the pope thus: "Holy Father, if thou hast not heard our sorrow, out of the bitterness of my heart will I reveal it. Would to God that thou hadst not been so intent on the recovery of Sicily".<sup>5</sup> Bartholomew was not alone in connecting the fate of the Holy Land with that of the papal fief of Sicily, a connection to be stressed by Pope Boniface VIII (1295-1303). Ottokar von Steiermark went further, blaming the emperor for the fall of Acre on account of the "Donation of Constantine" which had ensnared the papacy with Sicily.<sup>6</sup>

The most explicit indictment of the heads of Christendom is the anonymous *Excidio urbis Acconis* which must have enjoyed a wide circulation, especially in France and England. Paraphrasing Chapter 2 of the Book of Lamentations, the author mercilessly exposed the heads of Christendom:

Cry the daughter of Zion over this dear city. Cry over your chiefs who abandoned you. Cry over your pope, cardinals, prelates, and the clergy of the Church. Cry over the kings, the princes, the barons, the Christian knights, who call themselves great fighters, but fell asleep not in the Valley of Tears, but in the Valley of Sin, who left this city full of Christians without defence and abandoned it, leaving it alone like a lamb among wolves.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomew of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores NS*, ed. G. Carducci et al. (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1921-22), 13:131-33; Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 132-33.

<sup>6</sup> Ottokar of Steiermark, *Österreichische Reimchronik*, ed. J. Seemüller, *MGH Deutsche Chroniken*, 5:686, lines 51589-92.

<sup>7</sup> *De excidio urbis Acconis Libri II*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1729; repr. New York, 1986), 5:757, 759, 783. For the *Excidio* see J. Van den Gheyn, "Note sur un manuscrit de l'*Excidium Acconis* en 1291", *ROL* 6 (1898), 550-54; Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 115-21.

The same opinion appears in Dante's indictment of Boniface VIII in the *Inferno*:

Lo principe de' nuovi Farisei,  
avendo guerra presso a Laterano,  
e non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,  
chè chiascun suo nimico era Cristiano,  
e nessuno era stato a vincer Acri,  
nè mercatante in terra di Soldano.

[But he, the Prince of the modern Pharisees  
Waging war near the Lateran – and  
Not against Jews, nor Moslem enemies,  
For his enemies were Christian  
And none had been to conquer Acre.]<sup>8</sup>

By the time Dante completed the *Inferno*, around 1321, new opinions were developing in regard to the fall of Acre and the loss of the Holy Land. Writing in the 1310s and 1320s both the Venetian Marino Sanudo and the Dominican Ptolemy of Lucca, bishop of Torcello, made the Franks of Outremer the scapegoats. Marino Sanudo, who wrote his *Liber Secretorum Fidelis Crucis* between the years 1309 and 1321, concluded his account of the loss of the Holy Land by claiming that “it is common knowledge that the same sins which caused the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land had previously caused that of the Jebusites”.<sup>9</sup> Ptolemy of Lucca ascribed the loss to the multitude of competing lordships and the absence of a strong central power. He claimed that the seven lords of the city, namely the Templars, Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, the consul of the Pisans, King Henry II of Cyprus and Jerusalem, Charles II, king of Sicily and Jerusalem and Patriarch Nicholas of

<sup>8</sup> Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, ed. C. H. Grandgent and C. S. Singleton (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 27, l. 85-90; English translation: *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Cantica I: Hell*, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (Aylesbury, 1949; 1974 edn.), p. 242. See also Maurice Powicke, “Dante and the Crusade”, *The Christian Life in the Middle Ages and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1935), pp. 31-47, esp. pp. 37-38.

<sup>9</sup> Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis, Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Jacques Bongars (Hanau, 1611), p. 232.

Hanapes, disagreed not only about the system of government but even about the defence of the kingdom.<sup>10</sup>

Giovanni Villani wrote in the 1330s or 1340s and summed up the Italian views (although one can detect here an affinity with Jacques de Vitry) claiming that Acre on the eve of its fall had not more and not less than seventeen different jurisdictions. In his view, the city of Acre fell due to “the confusion of so many lords and captains”, and moreover “this disaster was not without the great and just judgement of God, for the city was more full of sinful men and women of every kind of abandoned vice than any other Christian city”.<sup>11</sup> Writing around 1350, the pilgrim Ludolph of Sudheim claimed in his almost mythical description of the splendours of crusader Acre that it was “lost by quarrels”.<sup>12</sup>

The views of Marino Sanudo and Giovanni Villani are particularly important as their accounts of the fall of Acre became the main sources of information for historians to come. Thus both Sanudo and Villani became the core of the stereotypical view of the fall of Acre. As a stereotype it was both a stereotype of a city as well as a pseudo-national stereotype. As a pseudo-national stereotype it belonged to a genre, since there was in the fourteenth century a tendency to give each people and nation distinctive features which in time became its identifying attributes. Thus by the middle of the fourteenth century one referred to the “treachery of the English”, the “ostentation and slyness of the French”, the “unrestricted rage of the Germans”, and the “plotting spirit of the Italians”. Within this framework of national stereotypes, the Franks of the Holy Land became characterised by their sinful nature and

<sup>10</sup> Ptolemy of Lucca, “Die Annalen”, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin, 1955), 8:220.

<sup>11</sup> Giovanni Villani, *Historia Universalis*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1798), 13:337-38, 456, 471-74. The fact that chroniclers refer to “seven” or “seventeen” lords may be connected to the alleged seven heads of the beast of the Apocalypse (Revelation 12.3) and inspired by Jacques de Vitry who described Acre as a monstrous city with nine heads as well as “another Babylon”. See *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), pp. 83, 87.

<sup>12</sup> Ludolphus de Sudheim, *De Itinere Terre Sancte*, ed. G. A. Neumann, *AOL* 2 (1884), 339-40.

vice.<sup>13</sup> As with every stereotype, that of the Franks had a distinctive function. It seems that it served a deep psychological feeling of guilt of the Europeans towards the Franks and the Latin kingdom.

As the stereotype of the city, Acre mirrored the medieval tendency to dichotomy. Cities, due to the influence of St John's Apocalypse and St Augustine of Hippo, were often seen as either New Jerusalem or as Babylon.<sup>14</sup> As Babylon or contemporary Sodom, the image of Acre goes back to Jacques de Vitry<sup>15</sup> and moreover to the highly influential *Dialogus Miraculorum* (composed c. 1219-23) of Caesarius of Heisterbach who refers to the city and its inhabitants as dedicated to the extravagances of gluttony and carnal pleasures.<sup>16</sup> Consequently the sixteenth-century Genoese, Uberto Foglietta, author of the *Istorie di Genova*, wrote that

the unhappy end of Outremer was caused less by the virtue of the Barbarians than by the dissolute manner of government, and mainly by the discord between the various lords of the city, namely, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the Templars, the Hospitalers, the king of Cyprus and the king of Sicily...<sup>17</sup>

This is also the view of another sixteenth-century Genoese historian, Agostino Giustiniani, in his *Annali della Repubblica di Genova* (1537).<sup>18</sup> At the same time the Dominican of Ulm, Felix Faber, described Acre as follows:

it was built in an excellent and exceeding convenient position; therefore it was full of merchants both from the East and West, because it

<sup>13</sup> Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1990), pp. 191-209.

<sup>14</sup> Jacques Le Goff, "Babylone ou Jerusalem: la ville dans l'imaginaire collectif au Moyen Age", *Critique* 34 (1978), 554-59.

<sup>15</sup> *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, pp. 83-88, especially 86-88. This letter was composed in 1217. For this date see pp. 52-53.

<sup>16</sup> Caesarius Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols (Cologne, 1851), 1:187.

<sup>17</sup> Uberto Foglietta, *Dell'Istorie di Genova* (Genoa, 1597; repr. Bologna, n. d.), pp. 231-32.

<sup>18</sup> Agostino Giustiniani, *Annali della Repubblica di Genova* (Genoa, 1807; repr. 1981).

was a fountain of all sea-borne merchandise, and it became so splendid a city that there was none in the whole world that was reported to be richer. Neither had it any equal in wickedness and vice.<sup>19</sup>

He also argued that “there were therein [in Acre] seventeen separate jurisdictions for crimes of bloodshedding, and oftentimes confusion arose as to the sentencing of evil doers”.<sup>20</sup>

The stereotype of Acre and its inhabitants found its way, in the eighteenth century, into the histories of Voltaire and Edward Gibbon. Voltaire, referring to the fall of Acre, describes the city as “the principal retreat [of the Christians] which was in effect only a place of refuge for robbers notorious for their crimes”.<sup>21</sup> Gibbon provided a much more elaborate description of the inhabitants of Acre based on Villani and Sanudo:

Of all disciples of Jesus and Mohammed, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were esteemed the most corrupt, nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns and no government ... whatever might be the vices of the Franks their courage was rekindled by enthusiasm and despair; but they were torn by the discord of seventeen chiefs.<sup>22</sup>

Gibbon presents the fall of the city as signifying the end of Outremer as well as the destruction of all the coastal settlements of Palestine: “By the command of the sultan the churches and fortifications of the Latin Cities were demolished ... and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world’s debate”.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Felix Faber, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843), pp. 316-17.

<sup>20</sup> Felix Faber, *Evagatorium*, p. 316.

<sup>21</sup> Voltaire, *Ancient and Modern History*, in *The Works of Voltaire*, trans. William F. Fleming, ed. John Morley, 42 vols (Paris, 1901), 25:146.

<sup>22</sup> Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3 vols (New York, n. d.), 3:503.

<sup>23</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 3:503-4.

The great nineteenth-century historian of the crusades, J. F. Michaud, presented in his *Histoire des Croisades* (first published in 1824-29) a view very similar to that of Gibbon. He argued that it was impossible to keep order in a city which had seventeen different sovereigns, which lacked a uniform administration and in which all European discords and conflicts, and especially those of Italy, were felt and fought. He argues that contemporary history deplores deeply the moral corruption of the inhabitants of Acre who were mostly newcomers bringing to Acre the vices of all nations; softness and pursuit of luxury were common among all classes of society; even the clergy hardly avoided contamination. Among the inhabitants of Syria, the most effeminate, the most dissolute, were the inhabitants of Acre.<sup>24</sup>

To sum up: it was only in the later part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century that the attitude of historians to the fall of Acre meaningfully changed. Other reasons besides the moral corruption of the inhabitants of Acre were introduced to explain the fall of Acre and the loss of the Holy Land. Consequently the loss of the Holy Land was now seen more and more as a result of the decline of the ideal of the crusade and the crusading movement.<sup>25</sup> Historians now formed yet another stereotypic view arguing for the period 1274 onwards that the "crusades were only spoken of".<sup>26</sup>

The negative stereotype of Acre across the ages may be explained by the influence of the sources used by the historians, namely Marino Sanudo and Giovanni Villani. While preserving during the early modern era the negative image of Acre, historians preserved the medieval pseudo-national stereotype as well as the

<sup>24</sup> Joseph F. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, 4 vols (Paris, 1867), 3:349. For a similar view see Gaston Dodu, *Le Royaume latin de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1914), pp. 75-101. G. P. R. James, *History of Chivalry* (New York, 1900), pp. 308-12.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, *The Historians' History of the World*, ed. Henry Smith Williams (London, 1904), 7:453-55.

<sup>26</sup> For a different view see Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 1-5. See also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274*, (Oxford, 1985); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987); Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992).

medieval-dichotomic attitude to cities influenced by the Apocalypse of John and by St Augustine. As shown by Jacques Le Goff in regard to medieval Paris, cities were seen either as Jerusalem or Babylon.<sup>27</sup> Acre, presented around the time of its fall as both Jerusalem and Babylon, became by the middle of the fourteenth century the personification of Babylon alone. Thus historians echoed the prophecy pronounced by Odo of Châteauroux and repeated by Jean of Joinville: "no one knows as well as I do of all the mean and treacherous sins committed in Acre. That is why God will have to exact such vengeance for them that Acre should be washed clean in the blood of its inhabitants and other people will come to live there in their place".<sup>28</sup>

*University of Haifa*

<sup>27</sup> Le Goff, "Babylone", pp. 554-59.

<sup>28</sup> Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly, (Paris, 1868), p. 219.







# **Sclavonia and Beyond**

## **The Gate to a Different World in the Perception of Crusaders (c. 1104-c. 1208)**

Annetta Ilieva †  
Mitko Delev

This study had its inspiration in Geoffrey of Villehardouin's *Conquest of Constantinople*, written in the Latin empire's capital around 1208.<sup>1</sup> Our interest in the background of some sections in his narrative grew only later to take in the appearance of the *Liber* of Raymond of Aguilers (before 1105) and the other two accounts most closely related to it: that of the *Gesta Francorum* (written by 1101) and Peter Tudebode's *Historia* (written before 1111). Ultimately, in the search for the roots of the *Esclavonie / Sclavonia / Sclavania / S[c]lavinia / Sclavaria* tradition we had to go back to the early seventh century and follow the threads that bound it to

<sup>1</sup> We would like to express our gratitude to the International Medieval Institute at the University of Leeds for the financial support that made possible the presentation of this paper at the International Medieval Congress 1995. We would also like to thank Dr Peter Noble for having read an earlier draft of the text, and Mr Thomas Thomov who, using the general outline of a map by John V. A. Fine, Jr. (*The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* [Ann Arbor, 1983], map 1), drew the map we needed, now attached to the end of this paper (see Figure One).

reality. In this respect, our greatest debt is to a recent study of another frontier region – that east of the Elbe.<sup>2</sup>

It was Villehardouin's account of the "affair of Zara" (§ 47-107) – to quote Jean Dufournet – that arrested our attention in a strange way.<sup>3</sup> Some twenty years ago the French scholar had revealed Villehardouin's imperatives in this section of his story: it was necessary to go to Zara and to attack it was not unjust; besides, it was meritorious to capture a strongly fortified and beautiful city.<sup>4</sup> There is now no doubt that, by using various narrative techniques, our author minimised the gravity of what had happened at Zara. What escaped Dufournet's watchful eye was Zara's location by Villehardouin *en Esclavonie*, a location which certainly demands explanation.<sup>5</sup> Robert of Clari is ignorant of it. The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* strictly distinguishes between *Ystria*, *Dalmatia*, and *Slavinia* and in the text Zara stands for herself.<sup>6</sup> For the circle of Conrad von Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt, Zara is the metropolis of Dalmatia and Croatia.<sup>7</sup> Gunther of Pairis also places

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Lotter, "The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Region East of the Elbe", in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 267-306.

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2 vols (Paris, 1938-39), 1:50-108. For the reference to Dufournet's phrasing, see n. 4 below.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade: Villehardouin et Clari*, 2 vols (Paris, 1973), 1:55-72. For a modern account of the capture of Zara see Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages up to 1409] (Zadar, 1976), pp. 175-81.

<sup>5</sup> In his translation Petar Skok has equated *Esclavonie* with Croatia: *Tri starofrancuske hronike o Zadru u godini 1202* [Three Old French Chronicles on Zadar in 1202] (Zagreb, 1951), pp. 14-17. Cf. Klaić and Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, p. 176. However, as will be shown below, this equation is by no means unassailable.

<sup>6</sup> *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, ed. Charles Hopf, in *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> Anonymous of Halberstadt, *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*, in MGH SS 23:117. Earlier edition as *De peregrinatione in Greciam et adventu reliquiarum de Grecia libellus* in Paul E. D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae: Fasciculus documentorum minorum, ad byzantina lipsana in Occid-*

Zara in Dalmatia and explicitly states that the city belonged to Hungary.<sup>8</sup> Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay blames the Venetians for having led the pilgrims “ad destruendam civitatem quendam christianorum, que erat regis Ungarie, nomine Jadram”.<sup>9</sup> Why then *Jadres en Esclavonie / S(c)lavonie* as in Villehardouin’s text?<sup>10</sup> Let the Marshal of Champagne and Romania speak for himself:

At this point the Doge spoke to his people ... “The King of Hungary has taken from us *our city of Zara in Sclavonia*, one of the strongest places in the world” ... Our army arrived *before Zara in Sclavonia* on Saint Martin’s Eve [10 November 1202], and saw the city enclosed by high walls and lofty towers ... The army spent the whole of that winter in Zara ... During this time many men from the lower ranks deserted and escaped in merchant ships ... About five hundred of them got away in one ship, but all of them lost their lives by drowning. Another group escaped by land, thinking to travel safely *through Sclavonia*; but the people of that country attacked them, killing a

*entem saeculo XIIIo translata, spectantium, et Historiam Quarti Belli Sacri imperijque gallo-graeci illustrantium*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1877-78), 1:12.

<sup>8</sup> Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim, 1994), p. 121, lines 28-29; Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 1:71.

<sup>9</sup> Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926-30), 1:108.

<sup>10</sup> This location, probably after Villehardouin’s, is to be found in some later sources – in William of Tyre’s Old French continuations and in the “Chronicle of the Morea”. See *L’estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d’Outremer*, RHC Occ. 2/1:253; *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 350; *Livre de la conqueste de la Princée de l’Amorée*, 1: *Chronique de Morée*, ed. Jean Longnon, (Paris, 1911), p. 8; *The Chronicle of Morea, Το Χρονικον του Μορεως*, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904), p. 28, line 416, p. 30, line 426.

great number, and those who were left came flying back to the army.<sup>11</sup>

Then, having told us how Simon of Monfort, Abbot Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay and many others had deserted the army and went over to “our enemy the king of Hungary”, Villehardouin hurries to say that the next stop – Corfu – was “an island in Romania”; both that place and Durazzo are mentioned with a lighter heart (§109-13). Were the crusaders entering another world with the advent of spring, after some six months of wintering at Zara?

It has been stated by Donald Queller that Innocent III “probably did not count Zara as one of his favorite daughters in view of the rampant Bogomile heresy that infected the ruling class of the Dalmatian city”.<sup>12</sup> It has even been suggested that the capture of Zara was of great consequence for the conversion of the Bosnian ruler, Ban Kulin (c. 1180-c. 1204), from Bogomilism to the Catholic faith.<sup>13</sup> There are indeed a number of documents that inform us about the pope’s uneven dealings with the church in the western Balkans, some of which will be discussed below. But the Supreme Pontiff’s correspondence on the “affair of Zara” is unequivocal: the most important characteristic of the city and her inhabitants was their Christianity, while Villehardouin reluctantly admits this only once – in Abbot Guy’s speech forbidding the crusaders to attack Zara (§101). What is more, to our knowledge, no contemporary

<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 1:64, 78, 100 [pp. 43, 46, 52]. The pages in the square brackets are those of the English translation by M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1963). On the last passage see also Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay (*Hystoria Albigensis*, 1:110 and notes 1-2) who, after a biblical reference, makes Simon of Monfort reach Apulia “per terram desertam et inviam”.

<sup>12</sup> Donald Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1201-1204* (Leicester, 1978), p. 184 n. 33.

<sup>13</sup> Augustin Fliche, Raymonde Foreville and Jean Rousset, *Histoire de l’église depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours*, 9: *Du premier concile du Latran à l’avènement d’Innocent III (1123-1198)* (Saint-Dizier, 1948), 333-34. On the episode, see below.

official document places Zara in *Sclavonia*. Our attempt to solve the puzzle seems to suggest that Villehardouin did that purposely: to challenge the credulity of Innocent III's position.

Villehardouin's message here could have drawn its strength from various sources. He was a man of stature and knew quite well what was going around him. Besides, he was a party to Boniface of Montferrat and would give an ear to what was being talked about among the Lombards. In his time, Innocent III was criticised by sources of Italian provenance for being apathetic in dealing with Cathar heresy in Lombardy.<sup>14</sup> And why indeed did the Zarans suspend crucifixes from their walls while the city was manned by a Hungarian, that is a Christian garrison?<sup>15</sup>

It is a well-known fact that since the second half of the twelfth century the Lombard heretics had been under the influence of the Balkan dualists of the "Church of Dalmatia" and/or "of Sclavonia" but what territories were covered by the "Sclavonian order" is not quite clear.<sup>16</sup> The ambiguities are inherent in the medieval history of the word *Sclavonia*, both in ecclesiastical and in lay matters: it has

<sup>14</sup> Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198-1216* (London, 1994), p. 154.

<sup>15</sup> For a later source, Thomas the Archdeacon of Split (d. 1268), there was no doubt that the Zarans were heretics: *Historia Salonitana*, ed. Franjo Rački, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 26, *Scriptores* 3 (Zagreb, 1894), p. 83.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Antoine Dondaine, "De heresi catharorum in Lombardia", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949), 280-312. The *opus* was compiled c. 1214 (p. 290). Using the deliberation of the heretical council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman, most modern authorities have identified the "Church of Sclavonia" with that of Dalmatia and subsequently with Bosnia. Cf. Franjo Šanjek, "Le rassemblement hérétique de Saint-Félix-de-Caraman (1167) et les églises cathares au XIIIe siècle", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 67 (1972), 767-99 (text: 771-79; here 775-76 and 795-98), and Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare, XIIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1976), pp. 27-28, who locates it "in Croatia", precisely in "the eastern provinces of Bosnia and Hum (Hercegovina)"; Bernard Hamilton, "The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 48 (1978), 23-53 (here 37, 44; and for a new dating of the council to the mid 1170s, 30); Dimitri Obolensky, "Papa Nicetas: A Byzantine Dualist in the Land of the Cathars", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 489-500 (here 490-91, 492, 493).

stood for different regions of the western Balkans.<sup>17</sup> What was the picture like around the turn of the twelfth century?<sup>18</sup>

Some five hundred years earlier, Isidore of Seville had noted dryly in his *Chronicon*: “At the beginning of the fifth year of Heraclius [i.e. AD 615] the Slavs took Greece from the Romans”.<sup>19</sup> His much more popular *Etymologies* had specified that “the provinces of Greece are now seven: the first from the west Dalmatia, then Epirus, Hellas, Thessaly, Macedonia, Achaia, and two in the sea, Crete and the Cyclades. Now Illyricum is generally all Greece”.<sup>20</sup> Almost simultaneously the *Liber Pontificalis* had noted for the life of the Dalmatian pope John IV (640-42): “In his time he sent much money by the holy and most worthy abbot Martin throughout Dalmatia and Histria to redeem captives who had been despoiled by the barbarians”.<sup>21</sup> By 871, notwithstanding previous missionary activities from Rome and strong Frankish interests, Latin documents would have already called Dalmatia *Sclavenia*. The *-enia*

<sup>17</sup> For a review of its meanings see (but with caution) Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques*, pp. 22-25. Cf. O. A. Akimova, “Formirovanie khovratskoï rannefeodal’noï gosudarstvennosti” [The Emergence of the Early Feudal Croatian State], in *Rannefeodal’nye gosudarstva na Balkanakh, VI-XII vv.* [Early Feudal States in the Balkans, 6th-12th centuries] (Moscow, 1985), p. 239 and p. 248 n. 65; Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 493 (claiming that “Dalmatia is usually referred to in western sources as Sclavonia”).

<sup>18</sup> Between 1174 and 1177 the *Ecclesia Dalmatiae* was attested as already existing by the heretical council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman near Toulouse. See Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques*, pp. 42-44 (with a wrong dating of the council).

<sup>19</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Chronicon*, PL 83:1056.

<sup>20</sup> *Etimologías*, ed. and trans. José Oroz Reta, Manuel A. Marcos Casquero and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, 2 vols (Madrid, 1982-83), 2:180. The English translation is after Wallace M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911), 2 (no page numbering).

<sup>21</sup> *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-92; repr. with vol. 3 added by Cyrille Vogel, 1955-57), 1:330, lines 1-6. English translation by Raymond Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1989), p. 66. For the contemporary dating of the passage, see pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.



suffix betrays Byzantine mediation and, indeed, the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia was created around the same time.<sup>22</sup> Then, as Pritsak has shown, “the term Sklavin” designated “in the first instance barbaric professional frontier warriors”; the term “η σκλοβηνιο or οι σκλοβηνιοι had the meaning of ‘any regions occupied by the Sklavin’, that is, a stronghold, whether small or large in area of the frontier military colony type”.<sup>23</sup>

The landscape of the western Balkans facilitated the emergence of frontier *Sclavinias*. The rivers Sava and Drava served as borders for Slavonia; the Dalmatian one was bordered also by the Gvozd mountain but was open towards the Adriatic.<sup>24</sup> Dalmatia itself was a frontier zone throughout the Middle Ages. The Avar khaganate, the empire of Charlemagne and its successor in Italy, Byzantium, Croatia, Venice, the Normans, Raška, and Hungary would all rule it and would want to keep it for themselves. None of them would, however, succeed entirely and the region would almost incessantly be parcelled out by the various adversaries. Nonetheless, after the seventh century, Zadar / Zara would remain its political centre until the twelfth. For most of the time the Dalmatian cities – and the Byzantine province as a whole – would be self-governing societies.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the post ninth-century sources would most often qualify Zara as *Dalmatiae civitas* and therefore different from *Sclavenia* by

<sup>22</sup> Jadran Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1978), p. 169; Omeljan Pritsak, “The Slavs and the Avars”, in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* 30 (Spoleto, 1983), 353-432 (here 415).

<sup>23</sup> Pritsak, “The Slavs and the Avars”, pp. 414-15: “Each Sklavinia had its own leadership, headed by a župan ... ξορχος or Ορχων”.

<sup>24</sup> On the importance of the Adriatic for the navigation in the region see Jadran Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans: Studies on the Byzantine Administration and the Southern Slavs from the VIIth to the XIIth Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 97-130 (here 123-28).

<sup>25</sup> Nada Klaić, “Zadar, dalmatinska metropola do XII stoljeća” [Zadar, a Dalmatian Metropolis up to the Twelfth Century], *Zadarska revija* 16 (1967), 111-28 (here 128). See also Jadran Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans*, pp. 173-92.

which they would designate neighbouring Croatia.<sup>26</sup> In reality, within the latter, Slavonia retained its special status until they split up in the middle of the tenth century.<sup>27</sup> By that time ecclesiastical matters had additionally complicated the meaning of any word with a *Sclav-* root. Whether or not the two famous Split (i.e. Dalmatian) councils of 925 and 928 are viewed as dealing with the fate of Slavonic liturgy, it is beyond doubt that Pope John X (914-28) condemned Slavonic as a barbaric language and forbade its usage in an undated letter to Tomislav of Croatia, Michael of Zahumlje, John the archbishop of Split and his suffragans [after 928 – all Dalmatian sees], all the župans, priests and the entire people of Sclavonia and Dalmatia.<sup>28</sup> The issue was again put on the agenda in the 1060s with the progress of the reform movement within the western church: Slavonic liturgy was condemned and Rome branded Slavonic as heretical.<sup>29</sup> But it survived and in March 1177 Pope Alexander III (1159-81) was acclaimed by the Zarans “with endless songs and chants of praise ringing about him in their Slavonic tongue”.<sup>30</sup> Three

<sup>26</sup> See, for instance, the Venetian chronicle of John the Deacon as in Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 7 (Zagreb, 1877), p. 107, lines 6-8; p. 319 n. 3 and the index. Cf. the *Vita* of John, bishop of Trogir, which (c. 1063) describes a route from Rome to Zadar as *intrans Dalmatiam* with its final destination *ad partes Sclavoniae* (p. 449).

<sup>27</sup> Akimova, “Formirovanie”, pp. 229, 239; Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* [A History of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb, 1971), p. 314.

<sup>28</sup> John X, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 132:809.

<sup>29</sup> On the Glagolitic / Slavonic issue in general, see Francis Dvornik, “Byzantium, Rome, the Franks, and the Christianization of the Southern Slavs”, in *Cyrillo-Methodiana: Zur Geschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven, 863-1963*, ed. Manfred Hellmann, Reinhold Olesch, Bernhard Stasiewski and Frank Zagiba (Cologne, 1964), pp. 85-125 (here 88-101); Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), pp. 9-26, 230-44, esp. 242-43; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, pp. 395-408; Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 250-51.

<sup>30</sup> Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:437, lines 17-18. English translation by G. M. Ellis: Cardinal Boso, *Life of Alexander III* (Oxford, 1973), p. 103. On the trustworthiness of Boso’s evidence (he was the papal chamberlain and died in

years earlier the same pope had sent a legate to “the entire clergy and people all over Dalmatia and all Slavonia”.<sup>31</sup>

The special status of Slavonia also outlived the age of church reform and the annexation of Croatia by Hungary in 1102. A document of the initial years of King Béla III (1172-96) distinguishes in his realm *Ungaria caput regni, Croacia, Dalmacia et Rama* but specifies that the king receives *de duce Sclavonie per annum X. mille marcas*.<sup>32</sup> Less than a decade later Manuel I Komnenos would consider it appropriate to make the ex-Sicilian Rogerius Slavone *Dalmatie et Chroatie ducas*.<sup>33</sup> In 1181, after Manuel I's death, Hungary regained the Dalmatian cities previously under Byzantine rule; Zara had to be taken from the Venetians already in control of her.<sup>34</sup> Béla III then would be king of “Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Rama” while his son Imre (1196-1205) would rule Dalmatia and Croatia.<sup>35</sup> In 1198, within two years after

1178), see Ante M. Strgačić, “Papa Aleksandar III u Zadru” [Pope Alexander III in Zadar], *Radovi Instituta JAZiU u Zadru* 1 (1954), 153-87.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander III, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 200:1273.

<sup>32</sup> T. Smičiklas, *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije / Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [hereafter *CD*], 4 vols (Zagreb, 1904-7), 2:133-34.

<sup>33</sup> Ferluga, *Byzantium on the Balkans*, pp. 193-213 (here 209); Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 223. Šanjek's “Roger, duc de Slavonie” (*Les chrétiens bosniaques*, p. 25) is incorrect. The base of the Byzantine δουξ was Split.

<sup>34</sup> Jadran Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, p. 280; Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, p. 289.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, a document of 9 July 1194 in *CD* 2:268-70 (here 268-69). It concerns a dispute between the Templars and the monastery of SS. Kosmas and Damian *pro terris et aquarum ... usque ad Blatam*. Cf. *ibid.* 345-46 (a letter of Innocent III on the dispute dated 25 January 1200 and addressed *magistro et fratribus militie templi in Sclavonica constitutis*). If one is to identify *Blata* as the Lake of Vrana south-east of Zara (as the editor does), the *Sclavonia* here seems to refer to Dalmatia and not Croatia as in the contents and the index to the volume (pp. 387 and 476 respectively). But a lake of the name of *Blata* periodically appears at an altitude of 528m and some 135 km away from Zagreb along the route to Knin, and a dubious document of the early years of King Imre does refer to a “terra a latere ducatus Sclavonie iuxta Podgoryam et Gorichiam [Velika Gorica south-east of Zagreb?] ... sita” (p. 359; cf. p. 360). For the

the accession of King Imre himself his younger brother Andrew succeeded in becoming duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, in fact for Croatia and Slavonia. The Croatian bishops and the churches of central and northern Dalmatia were under the authority of Split, whose overlord in turn was the Hungarian church.<sup>36</sup> It was only natural, then, that the archbishop of Split, a certain Bernard, would get involved in the struggle against the dualist heretics who were active in his town and even involved in Bosnia where such heretics were well accepted by Ban Kulin, allegedly a heretic himself.<sup>37</sup> The word is about the two brothers Matej and Aristodije of Zara, the sons of an immigrant from Apulia.<sup>38</sup> In the uproar that followed Bernard's activities Ban Kulin called a church council and on 6/8 April 1203 at Bilino Polje near Zenica the Bosnian "relatives" of the Lombard Cathars renounced all their errors; on 30 April a re-enactment followed south of Budapest in the presence of King Imre.<sup>39</sup> Of course, these events were happening beyond the Dinaric

twelfth-century establishment of the Templars in "Hungary" – which he interprets as "Dalmatia" – see Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 244-45 and p. 379 n. 79. On the Templar castle of Vrana, east of the lake, see A. A. Paton, *Highlands and Islands of the Adriatic, including Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire*, 2 vols (London, 1849), 2:100.

<sup>36</sup> John V. A. Fine, Jr. *The Late Medieval Balkans, A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1990), pp. 22-23, 43.

<sup>37</sup> CD 2:350-52 and 3:14-15 (letters of Innocent III to King Imre, dated 11 October 1200, and to the archbishop of Split, dated 21 November 1202); Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 78-82. See also Achille Luchaire, *Innocent III, Les royautes vassales du Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1908), pp. 84-86; Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques*, pp. 39-40, 45-46; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>38</sup> See in detail Ante M. Srugačić, "Hrvatski jezik i glagoljica u crkvenim ustanovama grada Zadara" [The Croatian Language and Glagolitic in the Institutions of the Town of Zadar], in *Zadar: Geografija – Ekonomija – Saobraćaj – Povijest – Kultura. Zbornik*, ed. Jakša Kavlić (Zagreb, 1964), pp. 373-429 (here 384-85).

<sup>39</sup> Šanjek, *Les chrétiens bosniaques*, p. 47; Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, p. 47.

mountains but precisely at the time when the crusaders moved out from Zara and were about to set sail southward. There is at least a chance that the high command of the army learned something about them from hearsay.

Going back to Villehardouin's narrative we have also to consider what he and many of his audience already knew about another *Esclavonie* while still in the West: the *Esclavonie* and the *Esclavons / Esclers* of the *chansons de geste*. As Norman Daniel has pointed out, "the main nations in the songs are Sarrazins and Esclers" and the two names are "interchangeable" and "varied with Turcs, Persians, Arabs, Moors, even Bedouins".<sup>40</sup> This is indeed evident in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, which by 1177-81 had been substantially retailed by Graindor of Douai, where *Esclers / Esclavons / Esclavonie* appear on many occasions, especially in the episodes of Nicaea, Dorylaeum and the siege of Antioch.<sup>41</sup> For the listeners and readers of the Old French and Provençal *romans courtois*, *Esclavonie / Esclabounie* was not unfamiliar either.<sup>42</sup> In one particular case – in some versions of the Alexander Romance – *Esclavonie* stands for Illyria: Alexander's father was "li roi qui Macidone tenoit en sa baillie, et Grese et le pais, et toute Esclavonie".<sup>43</sup> Needless to say, by the standards of the time,

<sup>40</sup> Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 66-67. See also his *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London, 1975), pp. 96-97.

<sup>41</sup> *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris, 1976-78) 1, lines 810, 1040, 1251, 1538, 1635, 1649, 1729, 1953, 2124, 2153. The post-1100 summary evidence is in André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste françaises et les œuvres étrangères dérivées*, 5 vols (Geneva, 1986), 1/1:311, 379-81, 1/2:1144, 1475-76, 2/3:250-51, 706.

<sup>42</sup> Louis-Fernand Flutre, *Table des noms propres avec toutes leurs variantes figurant dans les Romans du Moyen Age écrits en français ou en provençal et actuellement publiés ou analysés* (Poitiers, 1962), p. 234; G. D. West, *An Index of Proper Names in French Arthurian Verse Romances, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1969), p. 58.

<sup>43</sup> Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay (de Paris), *Li Romans d'Alixandre*, ed. Henri V. Michelant (Stuttgart, 1846), p. 4, lines 8-9. This is the

Alexander was believed to have been the ideal knight.

At the same time, by the beginning of the thirteenth century there was quite a tradition of crusading history writing. The learned church branch was represented most influentially by William of Tyre (d. 1186) whose *Chronicon* was translated into Old French some time after 1204, possibly in Champagne. One of his advantages was that he had visited Byzantium twice – in 1168 and in 1179-80. Another, that he could and did draw extensively upon, among other sources, the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers's *Liber* in his narrative of the First Crusade, the only previous expedition which had crossed Dalmatia: the group of Count Raymond IV of Toulouse and Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy and papal legate. As a matter of fact, William of Tyre is the sole source specifying the route of the Provençals from Italy into the Balkans: "they entered Istria near Aquileia and at length reached Dalmatia. The land of Dalmatia extends longitudinally between Hungary and the Adriatic sea. It has four large cities: Zara, Salona, also called Spalato, Antivari, and Ragusa".<sup>44</sup> Many scholars, including John and Laurita Hill, have claimed that the Provençals passed through those cities, contrary to Raymond of Aguilers's silence on the issue.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, as is well known, William of Tyre's next section is a mixture of Raymond's text and personal knowledge:

revised version of the end of the twelfth century. Cf. the reference in Flutre, *Table des noms*. On the "slavicisation" of Illyricum, see above.

<sup>44</sup> WT 1:183. English translation by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2 vols (New York, 1943), 1:140 (hereafter, where relevant, the pages of this translation will appear in square brackets).

<sup>45</sup> John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, 1041 (ou 1042) -1105*, trans. Francisque Costa and Philippe Wolff (Toulouse, 1959), p. 35.

Dalmatia is inhabited by a very fierce people, given over to plunder and murder. The land is entirely occupied by mountain and wood, by great rivers and widely extending pastures, so that there is little cultivation of the fields, except occasionally here and there ... a very few [of the inhabitants] dwell on the seacoast and differ from the rest in customs and language. These use the Latin idiom, while all the other natives employ the Slavonic tongue and have the habits of barbarians.<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps this text can help in explaining why Raymond of Aguilers says nothing of the sea bordering the route of the Provençals to the right. William also seems to equate Slavs and Dalmatians, malefactors as they were.<sup>47</sup> But at the end of this section he still preferred to speak of "Dalmatia", beyond which was Durazzo where the count was met by a Byzantine "embassy of honorable men".<sup>48</sup> It may be that here he gave precedence to Fulcher of Chartres whose text informs us that "Raymond, Count of the Provençals, with Goths and Gascons, and also Adhemar, Bishop of Le Puy, crossed through Dalmatia".<sup>49</sup> But it is also possible that here the archbishop gives evidence of what he learned in Constantinople: between 1167 and 1180 Byzantine rule over Dalmatia was at its peak.

<sup>46</sup> WT p. 183 [140]. The Old French translation here runs (RHC Occ. 1/1:97): "cist parolent roumanz; li autre parolent se esclavonois non". After a little while the archbishop of Tyre would again remind us that "the country ... was almost wholly marshland (p. 183 [141]). On the "deliberate policy" of Manuel I Komnenos's government to keep the intermediate zone between the Danube and the Adriatic waste and uninhabited, see Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 134.

<sup>47</sup> WT p. 184. Cf. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 11/1-2 (Berlin, 1975), 1:173, 532.

<sup>48</sup> WT p. 184.

<sup>49</sup> FC pp. 157-58. English translation by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville, 1969), p. 72. Hagenmeyer (FC p. 158 n. 16) considered Fulcher's *Dalmatia* as identical with Raymond's *Sclavonia*. Indeed, the twelfth-century MSS of Fulcher's first version have *Dalmatia vel Sclavonia* (one has *Sclavania* only), while later ones have only *Sclavonia*.

William's other sources on the episode – the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers – , as well as Tudebode's *History* related to them, have no mention of Dalmatia whatsoever.<sup>50</sup> The Anonymous speaks of *Sclauiniae partes*.<sup>51</sup> Raymond is eager to complain that “it seems too tiresome to write of each journey since some crusaders went through Sclavonia, others by Hungary, by Lombardy, or by sea”.<sup>52</sup> His opening section has been annotated in detail and in comparison with Tudebode's corresponding text so there is no need here to stress again the combination of classical Latin phrases with liturgical, Old Testament and patristic references that confer a foggy mysticism upon these lines – by the way, punctuated to be read aloud.<sup>53</sup> Our attention was captured by something else. Raymond's sections on the crossing through *Sclavonia* and then Byzantium (i.e. Durazzo to Constantinople) are almost equal in length. Besides, although the connotation of paganness is imbued in *Sclavonia / Sclavi*, Raymond is resolute in mentioning it explicitly. As any barbarians, those Slavs could not be trusted, neither could their “king”, notwithstanding that Constantine Bodin, prince of Dioclea [Zeta], had by that time obtained from the pope the elevation of Bar to archbishopric and that his capital

<sup>50</sup> On the relationship of Tudebode to these sources, see Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 4-5 (hereafter the pages of this translation are given in square brackets); Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 5, 10 (the pages of this translation will appear in square brackets).

<sup>51</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), p. 5. On his epitomisers see Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC Occ. 4 (1879), 148c (*per Sclavorum regionem*); BD 20G (*per Sclavariam / Clavariam [Ms A] gradiebantur*).

<sup>52</sup> Raymond of Aguilers, “*Liber*” (hereafter RA), ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 35 [15].

<sup>53</sup> Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*, p. 36; RA pp. 36-37 [16-17]. Why the chaplain to the count of Toulouse decided to omit the march through northern Italy into the Balkans is not quite clear. See, among others, Frederic Duncalf, “The First Crusade: Clermont to Constantinople”, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison, 1969-89), 1:273. It seems to us that this was a deliberate decision.



Skadar (Scutari) was a suffragan of Bar. In 1077 his predecessor Michael had even received a crown from Gregory VII.<sup>54</sup>

We still cannot say why the Provençals had to cross from Italy into the Balkans via Dalmatia since the region was indeed a *terra incognita* for anyone coming from beyond the Alps.<sup>55</sup> The road followed the coastline, much of which is mountainous and still “quite bare of vegetation and for long stretches reveals little sign of inhabitation”.<sup>56</sup> No pilgrimage to the Holy Land had used the coastal route. In 1101 Saewulf travelled from Brindisi to Corfu.<sup>57</sup> The mythical pilgrimage of Charlemagne to Constantinople was thought of as having crossed the Balkans, starting from Hungary.<sup>58</sup> The route along the Dalmatian coast was not used by pilgrims even before the troublesome seventh century.<sup>59</sup> But we have some precious evidence coming from other quarters. In 1099 the Venetian fleet that had set sail to the Holy Land stopped at Zara; Venice was there in her waters at the time. The anonymous monk of the Lido

<sup>54</sup> Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 216, 223. The statement of the Hills that Bodin and his people recognised the antipope Guibert (*Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*, p. 36) is incorrect: see Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, pp. 223-24.

<sup>55</sup> John France has recently suggested that the count of Toulouse could not cross from Bari to the other side of the Adriatic because it was already winter time. It is still unclear why he did not go from Aquileia to Belgrade and instead turned south: France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 104-5.

<sup>56</sup> John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London, 1969), p. xxi. On the route, see Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 36 (map 10), 37, 82 (map 17).

<sup>57</sup> John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185* (London, 1988), p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne (Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne)*, ed. and trans. Glyn S. Burgess (New York, 1988), p. 34, lines 100-6. The dating is very controversial – from the late eleventh century to the first half of the thirteenth – but a link to the events of the Second Crusade should not be totally excluded. See J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers in Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1980), 1:69.

<sup>59</sup> Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 171-72 (routes), 164-65 (map of routes).

island who after 1116 wrote the narrative about the translation of the relics of St Nicholas of Myra from Asia Minor to Venice during the Venetian expedition of 1099-1100 gives the following route after the fleet left Zara: “egressi tandem de Dalmatia, velis vento commissis, Sclavoniae, Bulgariae et Achaiae regna deserentes, claram Rhodon usque pervenerunt”.<sup>60</sup> For Cardinal Boso, describing Pope Alexander III’s forced crossing of the Adriatic from Vieste to Zadar, the city was approachable through the islands of Dalmatia while the voyage from Zadar to Venice was “through the islands of the Slavs and past the small sea-coast towns of Istria”.<sup>61</sup>

The hidden contradictions of Raymond’s text are indeed noteworthy. The crusaders enter and exit Sclavonia but this land of the heathens is not the cherished land of Canaan. What is beyond it is even worse since the Christian Greeks betray their fellow Christians almost immediately, “for before and behind, to the right and the left Turks, Kumans, Uzes, and the tenacious peoples – Pechenegs and Bulgars – were lying in wait for us”.<sup>62</sup>

Peter Tudebode, writing before 1111, seems to have attempted to resolve some of Raymond’s contradictions. The count,

in passing through Sclavonia, a land in which he should have had no difficulty, actually lost many noble knights [Raymond denies this] and suffered much for the name of Christ and the way to the Holy Sepulchre. From Sclavonia the count arrived at Durazzo, the town of the emperor, with high

<sup>60</sup> *Historia de translatione Sanctorum Magni Nicolai, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique, martyris, de civitate Mirea in Monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore*, RHC Occ. 5/1:256E-257A; cf. pp. 270E, xlv, xlviii-xlix, l. On the episode, see Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium, Venice and the Fourth Crusade* (Athens, 1990), pp. 5-6 with the references cited there.

<sup>61</sup> Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:437, lines 8-9, 18-20 [pp. 103-4].

<sup>62</sup> RA p. 38 [19]. Raymond did know the ancient version of the *Chanson d’Antioche* and the “tanaces” here are an unidentifiable people in the style of the *chansons*. On the other hand, as William Daly has noted, Raymond is the first to speak of Greek treachery to fellow Christians that easily in the narrative of the First Crusade: “Christian Fraternity, the Crusades, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: The Precarious Survival of an Ideal”, *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960), 43-91 (here 53).

anticipation of being in Greek lands, since he had endured much from the evil hands of his foes" ... but "while these letters [of peace and brotherhood, sent by Alexios I Komnenos] were read aloud, Turks, Pechenegs, Kumans, Slavs [instead of Raymond's Bulgars], Uzes, and other ferocious people lay in wait on all sides, hoping to harm the Provençals at the most favorable place."<sup>63</sup>

Thus, the Greeks tolerated what the Slavs and other ferocious people were ready to inflict upon the host! Lotter has recently stressed that "Christian ideology identified paganism with peacelessness".<sup>64</sup> Like the whole region east of the Elbe which was viewed immediately after the success of the First Crusade as having been Christianised long before and later lost to heathendom, Dalmatia – with indeed a patchy political and ecclesiastical geography but by no means pagan at the time of the First Crusade – became "Sclavonian", pagan and barbarous once more after the seventh century.

Placed against this perspective, Raymond's *Sclavonia* section becomes quite logical, all the more so as the canon of Le Puy – like all other chroniclers of the First Crusade wrote after the success of the expedition, in an atmosphere of growing anti-heathen feelings. On the other hand, in the case of the Provençal text the count's background and experience in another frontier land, that of al-Andalus, against the "Sarazins ne Esclers", might also have had its say.

As for Villehardouin, by 1208 he had quite a tradition to count on, and placing *Zara en Esclavonie*, whose people behaved as enemies of the host, just like the king of Hungary, was one of his ingenious devices to justify what the crusaders did to the city in November 1202. Something was wrong with Zara, and this is suggested to his audience by its location in the suspicious *Sclavonia*. Villehardouin, however, had an even more difficult task

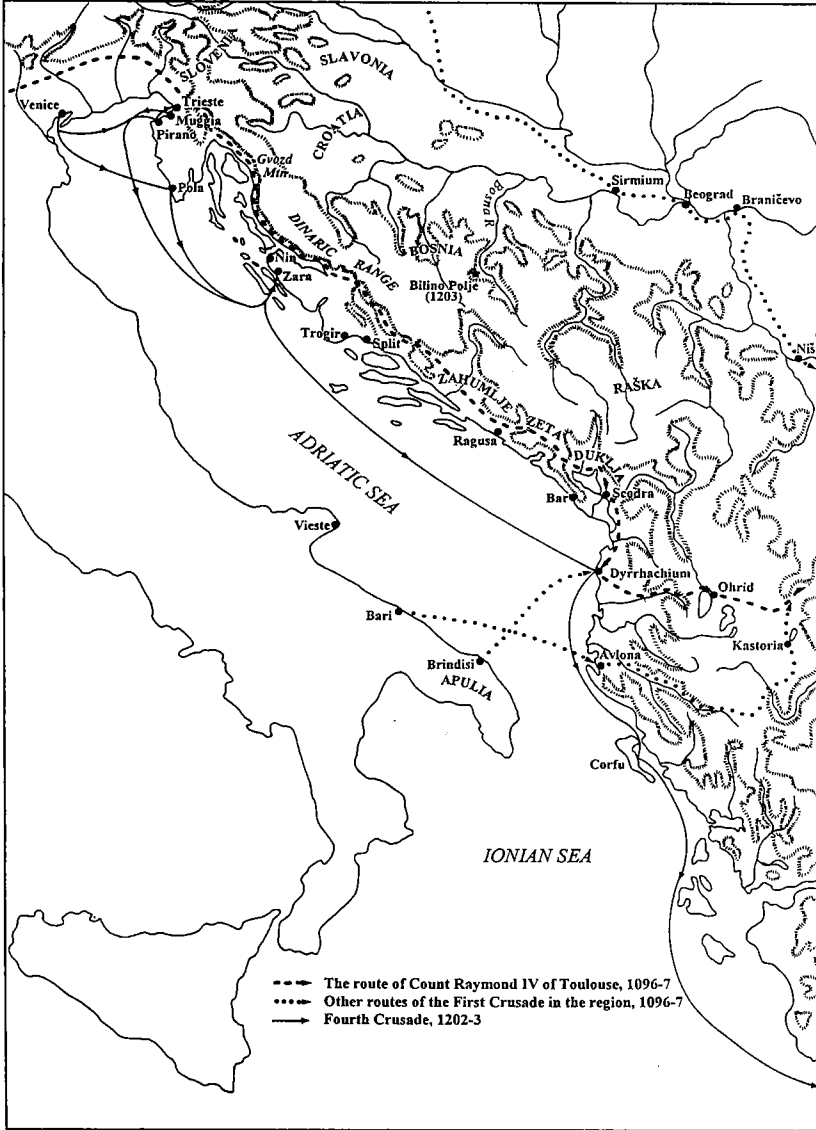
<sup>63</sup> Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill, pp. 43-44 [p. 27 and n. 42]. On the abbreviated Tudebode and Tudebode's imitator see RHC Occ. 3:133 (*Sclavania*), 175 (and *Sclavonia*).

<sup>64</sup> Lotter, "The Crusading Idea", pp. 274-75.

concerning the explanation of what had happened to Constantinople. Thus, his Durazzo is welcoming (although hardly out of choice) and a ring in the chain of accidents is closed. Hungary and Dalmatia might have been enemies of the pilgrims but Romania ... was it?

*Sofiya*

FIGURE ONE





# Castles and Seigneurial Influence in Latin Greece

Peter Lock

The castles of medieval Greece have attracted the passing attention of most writers concerned with the Latin states set up in the Aegean after the Fourth Crusade. Their considerable number, their frequent inaccessibility as well as their romantic aspect have all been remarked upon, yet their chronology and functions remain obscure, as does the precise proportion of Frankish fortifications constructed *de novo* to that of the former Byzantine fortresses repaired and adapted by the Franks. In the middle decades of this century Kevin Andrews and Antoine Bon provided some sort of form analysis and attempted a definition of masonry styles for the castles of the Morea.<sup>1</sup> Their aim was to achieve an archaeological dating of these monuments where sophisticated documentary material such as building accounts was totally lacking. It is the absence of such documents which has bedevilled the study of the castles of Greece and allowed speculation rather than fact to hold the field. The re-use and refurbishment of some of the most important sites by post-medieval rulers of the Aegean together with the notorious longevity of masonry styles in the Balkans from the late Roman to the present time have further served to confound the efforts of researchers. Yet

<sup>1</sup> Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Princeton, 1953); Antoine Bon, "Fortéresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 61 (1937), 136-208.

the very fact of their construction is a testimony to their builders' control of men, money and materials.

In considering castles as expressions of seigneurial lordship I would like to suggest that two aspects of this, wealth display and the storage of wealth, were the prime purpose and role of the castle in the Frankish states of Greece. In this discussion I will confine my attentions to sites in the Morea and Central Greece, including the island of Euboea.

The conquest of mainland Greece in the years after 1204 was both apparently easy and patently insecure. In central Greece and the Peloponnese most local archons came to some accommodation with the Frankish incomers, welcoming them as liberators and providing much advice and guidance. In return they sought confirmation of their social position, religious affiliation and inheritance practices as well as some measure of personal security which had been lacking in the last decades of Byzantine control. Despite a willingness to concede these requests the Franks remained a minority group dwelling mainly in the towns. Their hold on the countryside was patchy and the borders of their lordships were not secure from Greek attacks, first from Epiros and later from Mistra. By 1212 Frankish occupation of Thessaly was over and the lordship of Athens and Thebes was subject to serious raiding from Epiros. In 1235 and 1236 these raids went right up to the walls of Thebes unchecked. In the Peloponnese the Franks never controlled the south-east. Monemvasia was only captured in 1249 and then let go in 1261 in exchange for the release of William de Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, from captivity in Constantinople. Through the thirteenth century we should expect the castles of Greece to have a mention in conquest, domination and above all in defence but this is far from the case. Equally in the struggles of Frank against Frank in Euboea in 1258, in Boeotia in 1311 and in Achaia in 1315 the role of the castle merits barely a word in the pages of the chroniclers.<sup>2</sup>

First, what role did castles play in the Frankish conquest of Greece and when and how were they constructed? As in so many

<sup>2</sup> See Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204-1500* (London, 1995), pp. 1-104 for background information to the Frankish settlements after the Fourth Crusade.



theatres of medieval conquest the role of the castle is not as obvious as it was once assumed to be. It is certain that the Chronicle of the Morea, written in the fourteenth century, offers us a rationalisation of events surrounding the conquest of Greece in the years after 1205.<sup>3</sup> It is equally certain that if the role of the castle was crucial in that initial conquest then this point escapes the modern reader of that chronicle.

In the pages of the chroniclers castles in Greece that were built or occupied by the Franks were described as beautiful rather than as awesome or strong. These latter terms were reserved for fortifications attacked by the conquerors rather than anything built by them.<sup>4</sup> For their own fortifications it seems that only when they were situated near a frontier or perceived to be under threat were castles given the imagery of a key (*clavis*). But why a key and not a lock or a bar? Thus Siderokastron in southern Thessaly was described in 1367 as “existens in fronteria ... clavis Athenarum ducatus noscitur”, while in 1454 the town of Negroponte (Chalkis in Euboea) was seen by members of the Venetian Senate as “... clavis et fundamentum rerum nostrarum ...”.<sup>5</sup> From all this we might conclude that the prime function of the castle was to consolidate conquest rather than achieve it. The castle as administrative centre, storehouse and statement of power was perhaps more significant

<sup>3</sup> *The Chronicle of the Morea* survives in four versions: French, Greek, Aragonese and Italian, in a total of eight manuscripts of which five are of the Greek version. The Italian version is an abridgement of the Greek version and belongs to the sixteenth century. The Aragonese version is the only version to bear a date, 1393. There agreement stops. The debate on the primary version of the chronicle continues and the contents of the different versions may be pursued in David Jacoby, “Quelques considérations sur les versions de la Chronique de Morée”, *Journal des Savants* (1968), 133-89 and full references to the controversy found in Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 21-24.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral (Paris, 1973), § 320 [hereafter cited as Villehardouin].

<sup>5</sup> Document dated Thebes, 2 January 1367 in Francesco Guardione, *Sul dominio dei ducati d'Atene e Neopatria dei Re di Sicilia* (Palermo, 1895), p. 22, cited in Kenneth Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 2nd edn (London, 1975), p. 83 n. 17; Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (Paris, 1961), 3:203 no. 2982 (29 October 1454).

than any purely military function. The complete absence of any castle-building programme in Thrace and Asia Minor in the years 1205-7 would seem to bear this out. The Latin troops in those areas were content to fortify churches as at Nikomedia, or occupy former Byzantine fortifications as at Stenimaka and Cyzikos.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the fortresses at Corinth, Argos and Nauplia which contained Greek garrisons until 1210/12, seven Byzantine fortifications or *kastra* were recorded by the Greek and Aragonese versions of the Chronicle of the Morea.<sup>7</sup> At Patras, Pondikos, Korone and Kalamata serious fighting took place involving the construction of siege trains by the Franks. Arkadia (modern Kyparissia) was deemed too strong for assault and had to be bypassed. Its garrison surrendered later, only when there was no hope of relief, presumably some time after the battle of Koundoura in May 1205. Kalamata was described as dilapidated, but nonetheless its defenders offered some slight resistance and then handed the fortress over to Geoffrey I de Villehardouin, prince of Achaia. Modon was deserted, having been destroyed some years previously by a Venetian flotilla making a sweep against pirates. It was nonetheless gratefully used as a refuge by the Franks.<sup>8</sup> Of the fortress at Oreklovon we have but the name. It was called Bucelet by the Franks which might suggest that it was garrisoned by them immediately on their gaining possession of it. This was the case, too, at Pondikos where William de Champlitte repaired the walls and renamed it Belveder or Beauvoir.<sup>9</sup> All of these pre-existing Byzantine fortifications were re-commissioned at some stage, but exactly when is unclear in the majority of cases.

<sup>6</sup> Villehardouin, § 400, 454, 480.

<sup>7</sup> *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*, ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio (Geneva, 1885), § 90-113 [hereafter *Aragonese Chronicle*]; *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. John Schmitt (London, 1904), lines 1410-1500. See Figure One for a map showing the known sites of castles mentioned in the text.

<sup>8</sup> *Livre de la Conquête de la Principauté de l'Amorée. 1: Chronique de Morée*, ed. Jean Longnon (Paris, 1911), § 111-14 [hereafter *French Chronicle*]; Villehardouin, § 319-20.

<sup>9</sup> For William le Champenois de Champlitte, first Frankish ruler of Achaia, see Villehardouin, § 138, 140, 152, 167, 201-2, 226, 279, 284, 327-330, and Jean Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin* (Paris, 1978), pp. 210-12.

The important centres of Nikli and Veligosti remain problematic. They seem to have been open towns in 1205, always referred to as cities and places of congregation rather than as fortifications. There is some suggestion in the Chronicle of Morea that fortifications did exist at both places although it is unclear whether these were added by Frankish lords. No trace of these castles survives today. The existence of Byzantine defences is not mentioned in the sections actually dealing with the conquest of the areas concerned and the fact that the men of those towns joined up with the Greek army which fought at Koundoura might suggest that the towns were open. Given the Greek predilection for fighting from defensive positions in this period, the citizens would probably not have enlisted were defences constructed in their own towns, but this can be no more than a supposition.

The Chronicle also recorded the building of four castles *de novo* and linked them with the period of the conquest by citing the first Frankish lords as the builders.<sup>10</sup> Walter de Rosiere with twenty-four fees in the Mesara region built Akova (Matagriffon), Hugh de Bruyere (Briel) in the “Drongos” of Skorta with twenty-two fees built Karytaina, Guy de Nivelet in Tsakonia built Geraki and Robert de Tremolay with four fees “... built Chalandritza and was called lord (*aphendes*)”. It would appear that castle-building was the mark of a lord. Yet we are also told that Geraki and Karytaina were built by the sons of the original grantees.<sup>11</sup> This casts doubt over the date of these supposedly primary castles, and perhaps they should be placed in the context of 1220/60 too. Only Akova with its grisly by-name of Matagriffon or “Greek-killer” smacks of an aggressive role, yet this is purely subjective and could just as easily be associated with a defensive stance. For the other tenants-in-chief, that is William Aleman at Patras, Matthew de Mons at Veligosti, William de Morley at Nikli, Othon de Tornay at Kalavryta, Hugh de Lille *alias* de Charpigny at Vostitza, John de Neuilly at Passava, Geoffrey I de Villehardouin at Kalamata and Arkadia, and a certain Sir Luc at Gritsena, we cannot postulate primary castles either. The sites of Gritsena, Veligosti and Nikli are lost, although there was a castle at

<sup>10</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 119-33; *Chronicle of Morea*, lines 1912-61.

<sup>11</sup> *French Chronicle*, § 219.

Nikli by 1261 when the famous *Parlement des Dames* was held there.<sup>12</sup> All the other places mentioned have castle remains, but of a late thirteenth-century date.<sup>13</sup> There is an air of make-shift about the fortifications of the early days of the conquest. Later wealth display and status would have a more important part to play in castle-building than strategy and it was often these very features which drew Greek attacks upon these castles in the 1260s rather than any strategic role that they might be thought to have filled.

References to the strategic role of castles are distinctly limited in the sources. The reference to Chlemoutsi (Clermont) on its completion in 1223 as being built as a protection against the schismatic Greeks is far too vague to allow a military function to be assigned to it and does not disguise its real purpose as a princely stronghold at the centre of the Villehardouin lands in Elis, equidistant from their capital at Andravida and its port at Glarentza.<sup>14</sup> In the sources castles were not mentioned in any specifically strategic context until the 1250s, with regard to the containment of the Slav tribes of the Taygetos mountains. This was to be achieved by controlling any large-scale movement in the passes which gave them access to the plains to the north.<sup>15</sup> Mistra, Maina and Leutron (Beaufort) were listed as being built for this purpose and by dint of its location in the Mani peninsula at the opposite end of a pass from Passava the castle at Vardounia should probably be included in this group too.<sup>16</sup> The mechanism of control was probably more passive than active in that these castles could really only function against such marauders as they tried to return to

<sup>12</sup> See Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 12, 77, 192, 305.

<sup>13</sup> Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la Principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)* (Paris, 1969), pp. 601-76.

<sup>14</sup> *Chronicle of Morea*, lines 2626-20.

<sup>15</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 215-16; *Chronicle of Morea*, lines 3004-7, 3035-37; Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 501-5.

<sup>16</sup> J. M. Wagstaff, "Further Observations on the Location of Grand Magne", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 141-48; P. Burrige, "The Castle of Vardounia and the Defence of the Southern Taygetos", in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. Peter Lock and G. D. R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), pp. 19-28.

their mountain fastness laden with booty and pursued by Frankish forces from the plains.

The second castle construction which was noted in the Chronicle of the Morea as strategically motivated was the building of Chastelneuf in the Val de Calamy by Isabelle de Villehardouin in 1297 in order to protect the surrounding villages from the Greeks of Mistra who in 1264 had erected a fortress at Gardiki.<sup>17</sup> The lapse of thirty years between the original Greek threat and the Frankish response suggests that the castle formed part of a plan for the long-term political recovery of the area rather than a military response. It was to achieve this by preventing the Greeks from exacting tribute from the villagers of the Arcadian plain, a function that the garrison might well fulfil by using the "New Castle" as a base for patrols.

To go to extremes, it is difficult to escape from the impression that castles were built to be captured. In the Morea we often learn of castle sites for the first time when they fell to the Greeks in the campaigns of 1263-64, 1302 and 1320-25. From that it would appear that most of them were constructed between the 1220s and the 1260s, but for what reason is by no means clear. It is possible that the castle-building of the latter half of the thirteenth century reflects an increase in the profits of agriculture as the new Frankish lords had had time to organise and exploit their estates. In the years 1217 to 1223 Geoffrey I de Villehardouin had had to use the revenues of the church in order to pay for the construction of the castle at Chlemoutsi, yet from the 1230s his successors were making annual cash subventions to the impoverished Latin emperor in Constantinople, equipping fleets, and indulging in other costly spending programmes.<sup>18</sup> In 1296 in a lull in the fighting between the

<sup>17</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 830. The Minnesota Expedition has identified this structure with the ruined castle of Mila; see *The Minnesota Messenia Expedition*, ed. W. A. McDonald and G. R. Rapp (Minneapolis, 1972), p. 67. It is not to be confused with another Castiello Nuevo, recorded in the *Aragonese Chronicle* § 471, built by Nicholas III de Saint-Omer about the same time and which passed to the Teutonic Order about a century later.

<sup>18</sup> Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Princeton, 1953), pp. 146-47 and Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571*, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1976), 1:56-57 for citation of sources and discussion.

houses of Anjou and Aragon in Sicily the mercenary Roger de Lluria led ten galleys on a raid into the Peloponnese. The galleys carried horses for raiding inland. Roger made himself a rich man from his share of the booty and the ransoming of captives at Glarentza. Clearly the Morea was still prosperous despite many years of Franco-Greek warfare and some estates still had wealthy owners in residence.<sup>19</sup>

Just what is meant by a castle controlling a region or an important line of communication is unclear and the mechanisms of this control do not really stand up to scrutiny. All the surviving castles were military buildings in that they were structures designed to resist attack with cisterns, crenels, flanking towers and narrow window openings and arrow-slits much in evidence. Yet most of them were handed over to the Greeks in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as a result of negotiation or treachery and seldom by storm. The garrisons of most castles were probably tiny with a fair proportion of the personnel made up of Greeks who saw to the provisioning. This was certainly the case at the castle of St George in Escorta in 1296.<sup>20</sup>

The castles were often built on inaccessible sites, as difficult to approach as they must have been to swoop out from and surprise an enemy. They consist of curtain walls forming one or two enclosures with a keep dominating the whole from its highest point. The function of these large enclosures is unclear; that at Livadhia in Boeotia was turned over to crop growing in the 1370s.<sup>21</sup> With the exceptions of Chlemoutsi (Clermont) completed between 1220 and 1223,<sup>22</sup> the five castles of Androusa, Basilicata (Vassilika), Leutron (Beaufort), Maina, and Mistra which the Chronicle assigned to the

<sup>19</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 487-89.

<sup>20</sup> *French Chronicle*, § 801-14.

<sup>21</sup> Bon, "Fortéresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale"; A. Rubio i Lluch, "La Grecia Catalana des de la Mort de Roger de Lluria fins a la de Frederic III de Sicilia (1370-1377)", *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalano* (1913/14), 393-485.

<sup>22</sup> *Chronicle of Morea*, lines 2626-720. See Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* for discussion of dating and the excommunication by Honorius III in 1220 for his seizure of church property.

1250s, the castle of Old Navarino (Avarinos) which Nicholas II de Saint-Omer built for his nephew Nicholas III around 1278 and the castle at Thebes which he built for himself in 1287, the chronology of castle-building in Greece is not securely fixed.<sup>23</sup> The Chronicle mentions about twenty castles belonging to the thirteenth century. Many, like Androusa, Geraki, Argos, and Akrocorinth continued in use long after the Middle Ages and later alterations are not always easy either to recognise or to date. A list of fiefs compiled in 1377 mentions fifty-one castles.<sup>24</sup> Some were very small indeed, but it would appear from a comparison of the two lists that there was a proliferation of castle-building in the late thirteenth century.

What castle-building there was in the thirteenth century seems to have fallen to the lot of the second and third generations of the Frankish baronial families in Greece. To take one example from a securely-dated castle built by the second generation, the castle at Thebes was constructed in 1287 by Nicholas II de Saint-Omer. It was paid for out of the fortune of his wife, Princess Marie of Antioch. It was built in the centre of Thebes nearly fifty years after a period of prolonged Greek attacks on the city in the late 1230s and at a time when the Franks in central Greece were going over to the offensive once again in Thessaly. Display was important here. William Miller described the building as large enough to house an emperor and his court. It was decorated with frescoes which depicted the conquest of the Holy Land by the warriors of the First Crusade. Yet in 1311, following the annihilation of the Frankish army at Halmyros, the citizens of Thebes surrendered to the Catalan Company without a struggle, although the castle was in defensible condition and its Frankish owner, Nicholas III de Saint-Omer, had not perished in the battle. Thirty years later in 1331 the castle was destroyed by the Catalan garrison to prevent it falling into the hands of Walter II de Brienne, the legitimist claimant to the duchy of Athens. It would appear that the castle at Thebes was a prize rather

<sup>23</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 215-17; *Chronicle of Morea*, lines 2985-91, 3038-42, 8096; *French Chronicle*, § 564.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony Luttrell, "The Principality of Achaea in 1377", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964), 340-45; Carl Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes* (Paris, 1873, repr. Brussels, 1966), pp. 227-30.

than a strong point.<sup>25</sup> The same impression was presented by the role of castles in Elis in 1315/16 in the struggle between Ferrando of Mallorca and Louis of Burgundy for possession of the principality of Achaia. Castles were for living in but the issue was decided on the battlefields of Picotin and Manolada nearby.<sup>26</sup> To look at the campaigns of the Emperor Henry in Thessaly and Boeotia in 1209, the castles at Larissa and Boudonitza surrendered as he approached, while the two Templar castles at Lamia and Ravennika took no part in the action and were confiscated by the emperor to reward his supporter Raoul de Tabarie. In appealing to Pope Innocent III the Templars claimed that they had actually built these castles at their own great expense.<sup>27</sup> In the following year, 1210, the Hospitallers were disputing the possession of the castle at Gardiki and its lands in southern Thessaly with the Latin bishop of Gardiki.<sup>28</sup> Rather than strategy it was display, administration and storage which brought forth the castles of Greece. Certainly defensibility was an important consideration in their design, construction and siting but ironically, as Dr T. E. McNeill has found in medieval Ireland, castles often invited attack because they were there and known to be places where resources were stored.<sup>29</sup>

The castles of medieval Greece as a whole are numerous indeed. Some are recorded only in texts and their sites are not yet known. Others exist as physical remains without textual pedigree and cannot be dated from their masonry or plan alone.<sup>30</sup> The documentary sources tell us nothing of the time and cost of construction or of the size and make-up of the labour force.

<sup>25</sup> S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton, 1985), p. 229; William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 76-77.

<sup>26</sup> *Aragonese Chronicle*, § 123-37; for general discussion see Beverly Berg, "The Moreote Expedition of Ferrando of Majorca in the Aragonese Chronicle of Morea", *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 69-90.

<sup>27</sup> PL 216:323.

<sup>28</sup> PL 216:304, 307-11.

<sup>29</sup> Paper read at a University of York Archaeology Seminar, 1992; enlarged upon in Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London, 1997), 75-80, 165-70.

<sup>30</sup> Bon, *La Morée franque*, pp. 601-76; Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, pp. 219-41.



Certainly some re-used classical masonry, as is evident in the walls, but the bulk of the masonry must have been quarried and nothing is yet known of these quarries, let alone the masons engaged on these projects.

Castles might be the expression of the wealthy lords' power, but the majority of their vassals and sergeants could not extend to such lavish display or such profligate resources of masonry and manpower. In the duchy of Athens, from Boudonitza to the Piraeus and including Salona, we find a total of five castles compared to something in the region of eighty towers; on Euboea the proportion is six castles to fifty-five towers and in the Morea, the proportions are not known since the fieldwork has not been done and no figures are available.<sup>31</sup> Towers were the expression of power and status at the sergent-level of society. Judging from Professor Vanderpool's excavations of the Marathon tower in 1966, towers were part of the building stock of the pre-1204 Greek archontic families and as such a recognised statement of local power and influence.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, such estate towers had stood as markers of power in the Greek world since at least Hellenistic times and had been freely used in parables by early Christian writers like the Shepherd of Hermas and some of the Evangelists.<sup>33</sup>

There were towers and towers. Some resembled small castles in that they had a curtain wall around them; others, like the towers at Krestena, Lilaia and Rovies (ancient Orobiai), were considerably larger in ground plan and still others extended to three or more stories. The tower at Krestena which was repaired in 1354 had a gilded roof, a drawbridge and private apartments. Generally such towers can be identified with powerful individuals like Niccolo Acciaioli, William de Villehardouin or the Venetian administration in Modon-Korone. The vast majority of the presumed tower stock of

<sup>31</sup> Peter Lock, "The Medieval Towers of Greece: A Problem in Chronology and Function", in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel (London, 1989), 129-45.

<sup>32</sup> E. Vanderpool, "A Monument to the Battle of Marathon", *Hesperia* 35 (1966), 93-106.

<sup>33</sup> "The Shepherd of Hermas", trans. Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), 2:231-41.

Latin Greece were tetragonal in shape and approximately 10 metres square and 10 to 12 metres in height.<sup>34</sup>

Pirgology has not made great inroads into the Peloponnese, so the next point is an impression only. At a glance towers do not dominate the countryside there in the same way that they do in Central Greece. The Morea is the land of fifty castles. It would appear that castle-building predominated in the most stable of the Frankish states, the principality of Achaia, which suggests that display rather than defence may have been the motive of castle builders.

Why then was castle-building not the favoured expression of lordship in Central Greece? Social and economic factors probably lie at the root of the explanation. In the Latin empire of Constantinople, the kingdom of Thessalonika, and the principality of Achaia we can glimpse western household government in place with seneschals, marshals, chancellors and constables. There is no evidence that such ever existed in Central Greece. We know the names of very, very few lords from that area except for the dukes of Athens and the triarchs of Euboea. However, we do know from a building inscription from the church of St George at Akraiphnion that John le Flamenc was lord of the area in about 1312<sup>35</sup> and from a century earlier in a complaint of the bishop of Zaratoriensis, a diocese located some fifteen miles north of Thebes, that certain Latins who called themselves *militēs* owned land in his diocese but had houses in Thebes, whither they attended church service after he had excommunicated them for acts of gangsterism against his servants and the property of his church.<sup>36</sup> The whole area between the village of Panaghia, medieval Zaratoriensis, and Akraiphnion abounds with towers, while the dominant families, the de la Roche, the Saint-Omer, the Pallavicini and the Autremencourts monopolised the building of castles. Even the sergeants or *militēs*

<sup>34</sup> Peter Lock, "The Frankish Towers of Central Greece", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 81 (1986), 101-23; Christine Hodgetts and Peter Lock, "Some Village Fortifications in the Venetian Peloponnese", in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, pp. 77-90.

<sup>35</sup> Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, pp. 132-34.

<sup>36</sup> PL 216:564.

indulged their taste for display with modest towers, while those who could built castles. Height bespoke lordship, but, to end with a text from Holy Writ, “For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it” (Luke 14.28). How much more applicable would this observation have been for a castle amongst the majority of the Frankish settlers in Greece!

*University College of Ripon and York St John, York*

FIGURE ONE

THE PRINCIPALITY OF ACHAIA



The Principality of Achaia

# Fortifications and Internal Security in the Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1426

Kristian Molin

In the spring of 1191 King Richard I of England conquered Cyprus while travelling east to join the other contingents of the Third Crusade. As a result, the island, which had previously been ruled by the self-declared Greek emperor Isaac Komnenos, came under western European control, and remained so in various forms until the Ottoman invasion of 1570. Largely thanks to its physical isolation, Cyprus enjoyed far more peace and stability during this period than other Latin states in the eastern Mediterranean, and what little warfare did affect it usually only involved fellow westerners. However, this impression of relative tranquillity is somewhat misleading, for a closer inspection of the internal political situation on Cyprus reveals that many Greeks remained deeply hostile toward their new overlords, and that the Latins constantly had to keep them in check, in order to avoid rebellions and popular uprisings from breaking out. It is the purpose of this paper to show that this was primarily achieved through the construction and maintenance of numerous castles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> General histories of Cyprus between 1191 and 1570 used for this article are: Francesco Amadi and Diomedes Strambaldi, *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891); Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1886); Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled "Chronicle"*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Dawkins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1932), 1; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de*

The first incidents of popular unrest on Cyprus occurred shortly after Richard I's invasion. Not long after Richard departed for Acre, taking the deposed Isaac Komnenos with him, one of the latter's relatives was declared the new emperor of the island by the Cypriots, and eventually had to be tracked down and hanged before English officials could restore order.<sup>2</sup> A few months later, by which time Richard I had sold Cyprus to the Templars in an effort to raise additional money for the Crusade, an even more serious rebellion broke out in Nicosia, whose citadel was suddenly besieged by a large Greek crowd drawn together from the surrounding district. This citadel was defended by a small and poorly supplied garrison of Italian mercenaries consisting of fourteen knights, seventy-four foot soldiers and another twenty-nine mounted troops, who only just managed to save themselves by launching a desperate sortie against their numerically superior but badly equipped opponents.<sup>3</sup>

Strictly speaking, therefore, the Nicosian rebellion of 1192 ended in defeat for the Cypriots, but it must nevertheless have

*Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891); Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991); George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1940-52); Elizabeth C. Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison and Philadelphia, 1955-89), 2:599-629; Harry Luke, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1291-1369" and "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1369-1489", in *A History of the Crusades*, 3:340-60, 361-95; Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols (Paris, 1852-61).

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 49, 2 vols (London, 1869), 2:172-73; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 51, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), 3:116. For a general description of Richard I's invasion of Cyprus, see also *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 38, 2 vols (London, 1864), 1:181-205; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. Gaston Paris (Paris, 1897), cols 37-57; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:105-12; Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 80-82; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 46-49.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 83-85; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 50-52; Makhairas, *Recital*, p. 11; *L'Estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer*, RHC Occ. 2:189-91; Peter Edbury, "The Templars in Cyprus", in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 189-95 (here 189-90).

shown the Templars that they lacked the troops and resources to subdue such a large island, and they consequently pulled out of their deal with Richard I. The destiny of Cyprus now became tied up with the political situation on the mainland, where Guy of Lusignan had until recently been ruler of Jerusalem by virtue of his marriage with Sibylla, sister of the leper king Baldwin IV. Following the death of Sibylla in the autumn of 1190, the leading barons and crusaders in the east eventually decided that a rival claimant, Conrad of Montferrat, should occupy the throne instead of Guy, whom Richard I therefore offered Cyprus as compensation. Thus the transfer of the island to the Lusignans was primarily caused by Richard's policies in the Holy Land, as well as his desire to raise more money for his campaign, but the fact that by the end of 1192 Cyprus had changed hands no less than three times in two years also suggests that Richard was keen to get rid of his acquisition because of the problems involved in policing it. This in turn adds to the impression that Cyprus was a place of virtual anarchy at this time, where the Latins enjoyed little real control over the countryside, and only a firm and powerful leader could hope to make the initial English conquest more permanent.<sup>4</sup>

A further incident dating from this period suggests that there was another significant factor contributing to the uncertain situation on Cyprus. In 1192, shortly after the arrival of Guy of Lusignan, a force of Greek pirates descended on the island, and although there is no evidence that this was an attempt to oust the Latins from power, an episode of this kind may well have sparked off, or at least threatened to spark off, more protests from the local Cypriot population.<sup>5</sup> More seriously still, the danger remained that the Byzantine empire itself would try to intervene, for it had lost effective control over Cyprus to Isaac Komnenos in 1184, and had already made one failed attempt to invade the island two years later. Between 1191 and the Latin conquest of Greece in 1204 the danger

<sup>4</sup> For more details on Guy of Lusignan's acquisition of Cyprus, his alliance with Richard, and his dispute with Conrad of Montferrat over the throne of Jerusalem, see *Itinerarium*, 1:135-36, 195, 317-51; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 6-12.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, pp. 205-6.

of another direct attack quickly disappeared because of the deteriorating political situation at Constantinople, but covert Byzantine assistance could still stir up internal trouble on Cyprus. Indeed, a letter dating from 1263 suggests that more than seventy years later the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-82) had still not given up hope of regaining the island.<sup>6</sup> By comparison, it is also interesting to note that the Greek inhabitants of Chios, another former Byzantine possession which came under the control of Genoa during the fourteenth century, probably only succeeded in ousting their Genoese overlords between 1329 and 1346 because they had received political and military assistance from Constantinople.<sup>7</sup>

Returning to Cyprus itself, it has already been stated that the Latins hoped to avoid the same fate as that which later befell the Genoese by relying on castles to maintain internal security, and this observation can be confirmed by studying both the historical and the archaeological evidence. Cypriot fortifications at the time of Richard I's invasion can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there were the isolated strongholds of Buffavento, St Hilarion and Kantara, which were situated high up in the Kyrenia Mountains, near the northern coast of Cyprus. All three of these structures were located on inaccessible mountain tops, whose sides were so steep that in some cases they did not require any curtain walls at all.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Michael's plans are recorded in a papal letter, reproduced in Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3:654. See also Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 10-11. For more details on the Byzantine loss of Cyprus in 1184 and the failed attempt to recapture it in 1186, see Weyprecht H. Rüdte de Collenberg, "L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille, 1155-1207", *Byzantion* 28 (1968), 123-77, repr. with same pagination in Rüdte de Collenberg, *Familles de l'Orient latin, XIIIe-XIVe siècles* (London, 1983).

<sup>7</sup> John VI Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 3 vols (Bonn, 1828-32), 1:370-79; Michel Balard, "The Genoese in the Aegean (1204-1566)", in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989), pp. 158-74 (here 162-63); Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIIe - début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols (Rome, 1978), 1:121-23.

<sup>8</sup> For histories and descriptions of these castles, see Camille Enlart, *L'art gothique et de la Renaissance en Chypre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1899), 2:578-95 (St



Although it was not built in the mountains, the neighbouring coastal fortress of Kyrenia should also be included in this group, for its ramparts were so massive that “despite having been attacked in so many wars, it was never breached or taken by storm”.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, Buffavento, St Hilarion and Kantara all withstood several lengthy sieges during the civil war which raged on Cyprus between 1228 and 1233. The main protagonists in this conflict were the Emperor Frederick II, suzerain of Cyprus, and the powerful local Ibelin family, both of whom claimed control over the regency of the under-age king, Henry I (1218-53). In the course of this struggle the three mountain castles changed hands several times, but they were only ever surrendered as a result of starvation or despair, rather than in the wake of a successful assault.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, in 1191 Richard I acquired these strongholds because their garrisons, whose loyalty toward Isaac Komnenos appears to have been doubtful, surrendered almost immediately.<sup>11</sup> Needless to say, such powerful fortifications had little to fear from Cypriot rebels, who could not possibly hope to capture castles too strong even for the German emperor or the king of England to take by storm. Indeed, although Kyrenia had a small town attached to it, the fact that Buffavento, St Hilarion and Kantara all lay far away from any centres of population confirms that their primary function was not to keep local people in check,

Hilarion), 596-605 (Buffavento), 648-54 (Kantara); A. H. S. Megaw, “The Arts in Cyprus: B. Military Architecture”, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Setton, 4:196-207 (here 204-6).

<sup>9</sup> Estienne de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* (Paris, 1580), fol. 27b. For a history and description of this castle, see Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 2:559-77; Megaw, “Military Architecture”, pp. 199-203.

<sup>10</sup> The longest sieges of this conflict occurred at St Hilarion and Kantara (c. 10 months in 1229-30) and also Kyrenia (over 12 months in 1232-33). None of these blockades ended through a direct assault. See Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 78-79, 98-105; Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 143-46, 173-82; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, RHC Arm. 2:684-95, 718-24; Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, ed. and trans. John L. La Monte (New York, 1936), pp. 103-10, 156-68. For more details on this war, see also Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 39-73.

<sup>11</sup> *Itinerarium*, 1:202-203; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, cols 53-55; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:111; *Gesta Regis*, 2:167;

but rather to provide places of refuge against large-scale foreign invasions.

The second category of Cypriot fortifications already in existence before the Third Crusade defended the important coastal towns of Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta, plus the inland capital of Nicosia. None of these settlements had any town walls, but they were protected by individual citadels, whose presence is confirmed by the events of 1191, when contemporary sources either refer to Richard's troops occupying them, or Isaac Komnenos trying to find shelter in them.<sup>12</sup> However, the ease with which they were captured, as well as the apparent weakness of Nicosia's citadel during the Greek uprising of 1192, suggest that these strong-points were not particularly large, and unlike Kyrenia and the mountain castles they may even have been in a state of disrepair.

Turning now to the period after 1192, it quickly becomes apparent that significant changes occurred at Paphos, Famagusta, Nicosia and Limassol almost as soon as the Lusignans took control of Cyprus. Investigations carried out at Limassol, for example, indicate that the oldest remaining parts of this stronghold consist of a square two-storey keep, which was subsequently encased in Lusignan and Venetian additions built between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. This keep is clearly a Frankish rather than a Byzantine structure, and appears to date from the early crusader period. Indeed, one sixteenth-century source even states that it was built by Guy of Lusignan himself in or around 1193.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the citadel at Famagusta can generally be dated to the period after the fall of Acre in 1291, but the archaeologist A. H. S. Megaw has suggested that a much older corner tower incorporated into this stronghold may also have been erected by Guy of Lusignan,<sup>14</sup> and presumably it can therefore be identified with the "sea tower" later

<sup>12</sup> *Itinerarium*, 1:181-91, 194, 199-201; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, cols 38-42; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 3:105-7, 111; *Gesta Regis*, 2:162-64.

<sup>13</sup> Estienne de Lusignan, *Description*, fol. 123a; Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 2:678-80.

<sup>14</sup> Megaw, "Military Architecture", p. 197. See also Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 2:615-18.

referred to during Frederick II's conflict with the Ibelins.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the most recent archaeological evidence from Paphos proves that here, too, a compact tower was constructed shortly after 1192, although it was later replaced by a much larger concentric castle built directly above it.<sup>16</sup> Finally, it should be noted that none of the excavations carried out at Paphos, Limassol or Famagusta revealed any clear traces of the older Byzantine defences captured by Richard I in 1191, suggesting that these structures were indeed fairly small, and were presumably demolished by the Lusignans or completely hidden below the new Frankish defences.

As far as Nicosia is concerned, it is no longer possible to identify the remains of any thirteenth-century fortifications, so here we must rely on the historical rather than the archaeological evidence. Perhaps the most important such source is the account of the German pilgrim Willbrand of Oldenburg, who visited Cyprus in 1212 and noted that at the time a new citadel had only recently been completed at Nicosia.<sup>17</sup> It seems that this building was erected on the site of the old Byzantine castle, which had been located "by the small market", suggesting that it stood right in the middle of the city.<sup>18</sup> Willbrand's comments on Paphos are also interesting, for despite his faithful descriptions of so many other fortifications he saw in the Latin East, he apparently fails to mention the larger fortress which eventually replaced the original Frankish tower built there in the 1190s.<sup>19</sup> Megaw believes that this fortress was possibly constructed by the Hospitallers between 1200 and 1204, because of its close architectural links with Belvoir, the order's famous

<sup>15</sup> Supporters of Frederick II guarding this tower were besieged briefly by the Ibelins in 1232. See Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 165-66; *Les Gestes des Chipriotes*, pp. 712-13; Bustron, *Chronique*, p. 93; Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II*, pp. 147-48.

<sup>16</sup> A. H. S. (Peter) Megaw, "A Castle in Cyprus Attributable to the Hospital?", in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, pp. 42-51, esp. p. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Willbrand of Oldenburg, *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Sabino de Sandoli, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum*, 4 vols (Jerusalem, 1978-84), 3:228.

<sup>18</sup> Estienne de Lusignan, *Description*, fos 30b-31a.

<sup>19</sup> Willbrand of Oldenburg, *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*, p. 230.

concentric stronghold overlooking the River Jordan in Palestine. He argues that the role of this castle was to defend Cyprus against an expected Byzantine invasion, and that it therefore complemented the Templars' new coastal base at Gastria, which was situated to the north of Famagusta and was completed at some point before 1210.<sup>20</sup>

However, the possibility that the Templars and Hospitallers were at this time building major coastal fortifications appears remote, partly because Gastria amounted to little more than a walled enclosure incapable of withstanding a major siege,<sup>21</sup> and partly because the Byzantine empire itself was, as has been mentioned, in such a state of crisis during the final years leading up to the Fourth Crusade that it was probably no longer in a position to contemplate a direct assault on Cyprus. A likelier scenario may therefore be that the concentric castle of Paphos dates from the time of the Fifth Crusade (1217-21), for in 1220 the Muslims sacked Limassol, which was being used to supply the Christian army in Egypt, and the Franks may have feared further attacks of this kind on the Cypriot coastline.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the discovery of numerous western European coins, a papal seal attributable to Honorius III (1216-27), and a large stockpile of arrowheads and catapult ammunition, all of which are used by Megaw to illustrate that this was an important Hospitaller base frequented by European pilgrims, could equally well indicate that Paphos did indeed act as a vital stepping-stone for troops and supplies destined for Egypt.<sup>23</sup> This could also explain why the fortress was never rebuilt after the devastating earthquake which destroyed it in 1222, for by this time the Fifth Crusade had already come to an end.<sup>24</sup> If this theory is correct, as Willbrand of Oldenburg's silence in 1212 implies, then the original Frankish tower at Paphos was demolished around 1220 rather than 1200.

<sup>20</sup> Megaw, "A Castle in Cyprus", pp. 45-50.

<sup>21</sup> For a history and description of Gastria, see Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 2:654-57.

<sup>22</sup> *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, pp. 345-46.

<sup>23</sup> Megaw, "A Castle in Cyprus", pp. 45-51.

<sup>24</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894), p. 279; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich and Gaston Raynaud, *AOL* 2 (1884), 429-61 (here 437 [text B]).

When all this archaeological and historical evidence is viewed together, it is possible to make certain interesting conclusions. Willbrand of Oldenburg's statement regarding the new citadel at Nicosia, as well as the apparent disappearance of older Byzantine structures here and at Limassol, Paphos and Famagusta, suggest that from 1192 onwards any existing fortifications at these sites were deemed too small or dilapidated to maintain, and were probably all demolished. In their place Guy of Lusignan and his successors constructed a series of new strongholds, which, judging by the traces still extant at Limassol, Paphos and Famagusta, were basically large, sturdy towers containing two stone-vaulted storeys. The date of Willbrand of Oldenburg's visit (1212) confirms that this building project was probably completed by King Hugh I (1205-18), and had been started by his uncle Guy of Lusignan (1192-94) or his father Aimery I (1194-1205).

As far as the purpose of these new strongholds is concerned, we need only return to the incidents of piracy and insurrection already described during the period 1191-92. Clearly, these structures were primarily intended to deter the Cypriots from organising similar rebellions in the future. If any such problems did occur, however, these towers could be relied on to protect Latin newcomers until help arrived, and therefore only needed to be large enough to house the outnumbered Frankish settlers. Another indication that these strong-points were designed to maintain internal rather than external security was their location. It has already been noted, for example, that the new citadel at Nicosia was apparently situated in the heart of the city, so that it became a powerful symbol of the new regime, and acted as a constant reminder to the locals that the Franks were there to stay. Once again, therefore, this type of

structure served a very different purpose from those of Buffavento, St Hilarion and Kantara, which, although they clearly enhanced internal stability, were too isolated to intimidate any Greek settlements directly.

It has also been suggested that by 1200 the Byzantine empire was already too weak to organise a major invasion of Cyprus, and could at the most hope to provide indirect assistance to Greek rebels there in the same way that it later did on Chios. Consequently, it may be that the concentric castle at Paphos should not be linked with an imminent Byzantine attack, as Megaw has argued, but with the Fifth Crusade, again implying that the greatest threat to Frankish security after 1192 was a local rebellion rather than a seaborne invasion. Indeed, this situation did not change dramatically until after the late thirteenth century, for in 1291 the Mamlūks captured the last Latin outposts in the Holy Land and threatened to conquer Cyprus, while in 1374 the Genoese invaded the island following a lengthy wrangle with the Lusignans and the Venetians over trading rights. These events finally persuaded the rulers of Cyprus that defences against external attackers had become a greater priority, and led to massive new urban fortifications being erected at Famagusta, Kyrenia and Nicosia.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, it is interesting to compare the policies adopted by the early Frankish rulers of Cyprus with those of other western European conquerors. Perhaps the most obvious such comparison can be made with the Holy Land itself, and in particular the twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem, where both nobles and rulers built numerous fortifications, many of which were isolated towers, whose function it was to subdue the Muslim population and to protect

<sup>25</sup> For the fall of Acre and subsequent fears that the Mamlūks would attack Cyprus, see *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, pp. 805-21; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 95-105. For the Genoese invasion, see Makhairas, *Recital*, c. 378-531, pp. 359-525; Strambaldi, *Chronique*, pp. 155-217; Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 444-73; Bustron, *Chronique*, pp. 302-32; Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 109-11, 132-33, 155-56, 199-211. For new fortifications after 1291, see Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 2:519-24 (Nicosia), 570-77 (Kyrenia), 615-21 (Famagusta).

Latin settlers and their property.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, it is clear that the Norman conquest of England from 1066 onwards could well have failed without the extensive use of castles, which were normally constructed around a solitary keep or wooden tower.<sup>27</sup>

The success of the Lusignans' strategy can also be gauged from the fact that after 1192 there were no further Cypriot rebellions for more than two centuries. Indeed, even during subsequent periods of warfare, most notably the civil war between Frederick II and the Ibelins, the Genoese invasion of 1374, and the clashes which occurred between the Lusignans and their barons in 1306-10 and 1369, there is no significant evidence that local Greeks took advantage of the political confusion to take up arms against the Latins.<sup>28</sup>

However, some incidents nevertheless reveal the strong underlying tensions which still existed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1359, for example, the papal legate Peter Thomas attempted to convert Orthodox Greeks at Nicosia to Catholicism, but the meeting ended in a riot, with many locals shouting "death to the legate", who was only saved by the swift intervention of royal troops.<sup>29</sup> At about the same time the Venetians

<sup>26</sup> See Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 21-61, esp. pp. 33-37; Denys Pringle, *The Red Tower* (London, 1986), esp. pp. 12-128.

<sup>27</sup> See Reginald Allen Brown, "The Castles of the Conquest", in *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1987), pp. 69-74, also reproduced in Brown, *Castles, Conquest and Charters: Collected Papers* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 65-74; Trevor Rowley, *The Norman Heritage, 1055-1200* (London, 1983), pp. 57-83.

<sup>28</sup> For more details on these conflicts, see Philip of Novara, *The Wars of Frederick II* (1228-33); Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 241-54, 259-69, 271-80, 298-391 (1306-10); Strambaldi, *Chronique*, pp. 35-114 (1369), 155-217 (1374). See also Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 39-73 (1228-33), 109-31 (1306-10), 162-79 (1369), 109-11, 132-33, 155-56, 199-211 (1374).

<sup>29</sup> Philip of Mézières, *The Life of St. Peter Thomas*, ed. Joseph Smet (Rome, 1954), pp. 92-93. See also Amadi, *Chronique*, pp. 409-10; Strambaldi, *Chronique*, p. 39; Bustron, *Chronique*, p. 258; Makhairas, *Recital*, pp. 89-91. For more details on the underlying tensions between the Greek and Latin churches, see Joseph Gill, "The Tribulations of the Greek Church in Cyprus, 1196-c.1280", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 5 (1977), 73-93.

also warned King Peter I (1359-69) that Greeks rebelling on Crete could try to contact their co-religionists and supporters on Cyprus.<sup>30</sup> However, the most significant threat occurred in the wake of the Egyptian invasion of Cyprus in 1426, for once the Egyptians had returned to the mainland, taking the king with them and leaving the island in a state of anarchy,

many of the poor folk in their dwellings rose in rebellion and pillaged the Christians [i.e. Latins], and also killed many of them ... and at Lefkosia [Nicosia] they set up king Alexis, and all the peasants submitted to his rule.<sup>31</sup>

These events bear a remarkable resemblance to the very first insurrection after Richard I's invasion, when, as we have seen, one of Isaac Komnenos's relatives was declared the new emperor of Cyprus. Clearly, therefore, there remained much hostility between the two peoples, suggesting that castles may still have been needed to maintain law and order even after so many years of Latin rule.

However, the fact that no other serious rebellions broke out during the entire 230-year period between 1192 and 1426 also proves that the Latins had generally been very successful in subduing the Greeks, and deterring them from resorting to violence. The virtual anarchy which existed on Cyprus immediately after Richard I's invasion had almost allowed the island to slip out of Latin control. But in 1192 the ability of a small, poorly supplied garrison to hold the castle of Nicosia against a far larger Cypriot force had clearly indicated how this anarchy could be brought to an end. Having failed to take this strong-point, and lacking the equipment or organisational skills to undertake any lengthy sieges, the Cypriots knew that they had no hope of capturing the series of new towers constructed by the Lusignans from 1192 onwards. As a result, these towers, in combination with the far larger castles of Kyrenia, St Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara, made further

<sup>30</sup> Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3:742.

<sup>31</sup> Makhairas, *Recital*, c. 696, p. 673, and see c. 696-97, pp. 673-75. See also Bustron, *Chronique*, p. 369; Strambaldi, *Chronique*, pp. 284-85; Amadi, *Chronique*, p. 513. For more details on the Egyptian invasion itself, see Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 2:467-96.



resistance pointless, and it may not be an exaggeration to conclude that without such structures Cyprus would never have become a permanent Latin state.

*University of Kent at Canterbury*







# **The Military Orders and the Kings of England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries**

Helen Nicholson

This article sets out to provide a brief exploration of the relationship between a particular group of religious orders and the kings of England. It will survey this relationship during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and how it changed, then examine in detail some of the particular services which these religious orders performed for the kings of England, and finally suggest some reasons why these particular religious orders won royal favour.

The military orders were religious orders whose members lived under a religious rule but who also had a special military function. They were specifically responsible for the defence of the pilgrim routes in the Holy Land against Muslim bandits and also assisted in the general defence of the European territories in the Middle East. The two leading military orders were the Knights of the Temple of Solomon and the Hospital of St John the Baptist, both in Jerusalem; their members were known as Templars and Hospitallers. The Order of the Temple was founded as a military order around the year 1119. The Hospital of St John, on the other hand, began as a hospital for poor pilgrims around the year 1050, and did not begin to engage in military activity until the 1130s. It

was not until the 1160s that its military function could be said to be becoming predominant.<sup>1</sup>

Despite their different functions, both orders were beginning to attract patronage in England from around 1128.<sup>2</sup> These two orders not only received considerable patronage from the kings of England but also played a significant role in royal service. Other military orders such as the Teutonic Order and the Order of St Lazarus received less patronage and were not significant in royal service, and so will not form part of this discussion.

The Templars and Hospitallers were not the most influential or powerful of the religious orders patronised by the kings of England, nor were they the kings' favourite orders, but they did receive a continual flow of favour from the first gifts to the Order of the Temple by Henry I in 1128 through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By 1300 patronage had diminished, as it had for religious orders in general.

The nature of royal favour for the two orders also changed. At first there were large gifts of land and privileges, but by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century there were only confirmations and smaller gifts of money and privileges.<sup>3</sup> By the 1230s the orders were having to pay for confirmations of what had already been given, while the Close and Patent Rolls also recorded many very small gifts. Then these, too, diminished and finally vanished as the century progressed.

Patronage also changed from one order to the other. At first kings favoured the Templars over the Hospitallers, but around 1250 the Hospitallers began to become more prominent. During the reign of Edward I the Hospitallers received more favour. This is

<sup>1</sup> The debate over when the Hospital of St John became fully militarised is set out by Alan Forey, "The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John", *Studia Monastica* 26 (1984), 75-89.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Gervers, "Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the Wake of the Second Crusade", in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1991), pp. 155-61. The Hospital received its first English properties during the reign of Henry I, but the date is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar pattern see J. C. Ward, "Fashions in Monastic Endowment: The Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 427-51.

interesting because to the casual observer the two orders might appear identical; both were based in the Holy Land and fought the Muslims in defence of Christendom. The Hospital, however, also cared for sick pilgrims.

The earliest gifts, from Henry I, Queen Matilda and her husband King Stephen, were to the Templars. In the 1130s and 1140s Matilda gave generous gifts of land in Essex and Oxfordshire to the Templars, confirmed by her husband. In contrast, only in the 1150s did the Hospital receive anything, and that was from the opposition: a hundred shillings of rent in Normandy from Matilda the Empress.<sup>4</sup>

The empress's son Henry II showed more favour for the Templars than the Hospitallers. He chose Brother Roger the Templar as his almoner in 1177; Templars continued to appear as royal almoners until 1255.<sup>5</sup>

There is a good deal of evidence of close relations between kings of England and members of the Order of the Temple but less for members of the Hospital. Henry II relied on Templars' advice during the Becket affair, but not Hospitallers'. King John testified in his will to his reliance on the advice of Brother Aimery of Saint-Maure, master of the Temple in England.<sup>6</sup> Although John was notoriously suspicious he had clearly discovered that the Order of the Temple could be relied upon and Templars appear with increasing regularity as royal officials in the records of the latter years of his reign. One was Brother Roger the king's almoner, of

<sup>4</sup> For gifts to the Temple see *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie Tucker (London, 1965), pp. 194-95 (1128); and H. W. C. Davis, H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1913-69), 3:310-15, nos. 843-46, 848-53, 856; for the Hospital see 3:157 no. 409.

<sup>5</sup> For Henry II's relations with the Templars see Beatrice Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185* (London, 1935), pp. xxxvii-lix.

<sup>6</sup> *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscumque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates*, ed. T. Rymer, R. Sanderson, enlarged and amended by A. Clark and F. Holbrooke, 4 vols in 7 parts (London, 1816-69), 1:144.

whom more in due course. Another was Brother Alan Martel. In November 1214 John committed "to our beloved and faithful Alan Martel to sustain him in our service", the vill of Tholeshurst in Essex, which was to be held by Alan himself, not the order.<sup>7</sup> After the death of Brother Aimery de Saint-Maure in 1219, Brother Alan became master of the Temple in England. It seems likely that this was largely due to his faithful service to the late king and his support for the minority government of Henry III.

King Henry III relied on Brother Geoffrey the Templar, who was appointed almoner in 1229 and keeper of the wardrobe in 1236. Brother Geoffrey's influence was such that he incurred the hatred of the St Albans chronicler Matthew Paris, who blamed him for the king's bad government.<sup>8</sup> Brother Geoffrey retired from both posts in 1240.

Yet after 1255 the royal almoner was no longer a Templar. Brother Robert de Manneby, prior of the Hospital in England from 1256/57 to 1262, was closer to the king than Brother Amblard of St Romain, master of the Temple in England in the same period.<sup>9</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. Thomas D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833-44), 1:173b.

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, RS 57, 7 vols (London, 1872-83), 3:412, 543, 629 and n. 2. Nothing is known of Brother Geoffrey's family origins. For his career see Agnes Sandys, "The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth Century", in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), pp. 147-62; Helen Nicholson, "Steamy Syrian Scandals: Matthew Paris on the Templars and Hospitallers", *Medieval History* 2 (1992), 68-85 (here 80-81).

<sup>9</sup> Robert had already been a friend of the king before becoming prior: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office 1232-1307*, 8 vols (London, 1898-1908), (1247-58), p. 171 (license to Robert to course his dog in royal forests); pp. 305, 342, 478 (favours granted at Robert's request); p. 343 (grant of 50 marks a year to keep him in the royal service); p. 349 (the king bought a horse from him). After he became master he continued to receive individual gifts of venison: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227-72*, 14 vols (London, 1902-38), (1256-59), pp. 92, 217, 240; (1259-61), p. 417; (1261-64), pp. 82-83. In 1262 he was given six oaks: *Close Rolls (1261-64)*, p. 79. The king issued pardons at his request: *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 217; *Close Rolls (1261-64)*, p. 54. In



Templars in general became less influential at court than the Hospitallers. During the 1270s Brother Joseph de Chauncy of the Hospital was a friend and adviser of Edward I, holding the office of royal treasurer from 1273 to 1280. No Templar held any comparable royal office during this period.<sup>10</sup>

Gifts to the two orders also suggest a change in favour in the early 1250s. In July 1231 Henry III granted the Order of the Temple eight pounds a year to support three chaplains at the New Temple in London, the order's headquarters in England. The Templars were to celebrate three masses daily, one for the king, one for the whole Christian people and one for the faithful departed.<sup>11</sup> It appears that the order already celebrated mass regularly for the soul of King John.<sup>12</sup> At around the same time King Henry bequeathed his body to the order.<sup>13</sup> There were no such donations to the Hospital.

The Order of the Temple was granted fifty marks a year by King John to maintain a knight in the Holy Land. Payments seem to have ceased in 1259, probably because of the actions of the baronial reformers who imposed strict controls on Henry's expenditure. As Henry's crusading ambitions had been a major cause of his financial difficulties, this donation may have been one of the first to go.

September 1263 he was about to go overseas on the king's business: *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 289. In contrast, Brother Amblard or Amadeus of St Romain received a pardon for hunting the king's deer: *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, p. 217; *Close Rolls (1256-59)*, p. 394. He also received the gifts of venison to which his order was entitled by charter of King John: see below, note 18.

<sup>10</sup> For gifts to the Templars and Hospitallers during this period see below, note 21: there were more for the Hospitallers than for the Templars. Brother Joseph de Chauncy became treasurer in October 1273: *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-1905), 3 no. 3518. He had retired as treasurer by June 1280: *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1272-81)*, p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office 1226-1516*, 6 vols (London, 1903-27), (1226-57), p. 135.

<sup>12</sup> *Register of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. James Raine, Surtees Society 56 (Durham, 1872), p. 24 no.115.

<sup>13</sup> *Calendar of Charter Rolls (1226-57)*, p. 135.

However, in 1280 Edward I confirmed the donation and continued it.<sup>14</sup>

There were also other gifts. Henry sometimes gave gifts to knights who joined the Order of the Temple;<sup>15</sup> he gave more rarely to those who were about to become Hospitallers.<sup>16</sup> On 1 January 1238 Henry gave a donation of 500 marks to the master of the Temple in England for the ransom of knights and brothers of the order who had recently been captured in an unsuccessful expedition to recapture the order's castle of Darbsak, north of Antioch in Syria.<sup>17</sup> By a gift of King John, the English Templars received the carcasses of ten male fallow-deer at Pentecost each year for consumption at their chapter meeting in London. This was paid until 1272, but it seems to have lapsed under Edward I. Between 1235 and 1246 the Templars also received a gift of wine for consumption at the chapter.<sup>18</sup> This rather touching act of generosity seems to have been an early victim of Henry's financial problems.<sup>19</sup> The Hospitallers did not receive any regular gifts of this sort until September 1229 when the Hospitaller sisters of Buckland in Somerset were granted three cartloads of brush a week. This grant lapsed in 1265 after the battle of Evesham, and in 1290 the sisters

<sup>14</sup> The purpose of the grant is specified in *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III*, 6 vols (London, 1914-64), (1251-60), pp. 53-54. It first appears in 1212 in *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 1:125b. Edward's confirmation: *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I, 1272-1307*, 5 vols (London, 1900-8), (1279-1288), p. 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Liberate Rolls (1226-40)*, p. 271; *Liberate Rolls (1245-51)*, p. 16; *Close Rolls (1242-47)*, p. 311.

<sup>16</sup> *Close Rolls (1251-53)*, p. 273.

<sup>17</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1232-47)*, p. 207.

<sup>18</sup> It first appears in *Close Rolls (1234-37)*, p. 94 and last appears in *Close Rolls (1242-47)*, p. 422.

<sup>19</sup> See for instance H. E. Ridgeway, "Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258", *English Historical Review* 108 (1989), 590-610.

asked for it to be reinstated.<sup>20</sup> Yet this was hardly as prestigious as a regular donation of money to the whole order.

Both orders also received casual gifts of timber and venison. During the 1230s and 1240s the Templars received more casual gifts than the Hospitallers, but after 1251, the Hospitallers were receiving more casual gifts than the Templars. There are twenty such gifts to these two orders recorded in the Close Rolls for the period 1251 to 1272: sixteen for Hospitallers and four for Templars. The Templars, of course, still received their regular annual gifts of venison.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile Henry had annulled the bequest of his body to the Templars, and left it instead to his own foundation, Westminster Abbey.<sup>22</sup> By the end of the century all references of royal favour referred to the Hospitallers, not the Templars; and it was favour rather than gifts.

Patronage demanded reciprocal action from the recipient. What services did the military orders perform in return for royal favour?

Naturally the orders performed religious services for their patrons. Gifts of land and privileges and regular gifts of alms were usually given for the soul of the royal donor and the souls of parents and ancestors. Sometimes gifts were for a more specific spiritual purpose, such as Henry III's gift of money to the Templars in 1231 to pay for masses to be said for his soul.

Like other religious orders, the military orders also performed various secular services for their royal donors. This was not specifically stated to be in return for patronage but obviously it was expected to follow from patronage. Thus Templars acted as royal almoner, as advisers, or as keeper of the royal wardrobe, while

<sup>20</sup> *Close Rolls (1227-31)*, p. 214; *Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlamento*, 6 vols (London, 1767-77), 1:58 no. 152.

<sup>21</sup> See *Close Rolls (1251-53)*, pp. 30, 152, 279; (1253-54), pp. 263, 302; (1254-46), p. 257; (1256-59), pp. 92, 217, 240, 372-73; (1259-61), pp. 388, 416-17; (1261-64), pp. 53, 79, 82, 83, 244, 360; (1264-68), pp. 4, 274; (1268-72), p. 361.

<sup>22</sup> In October 1246: *Calendar of Charter Rolls (1227-57)*, p. 306. See also *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols RS 95 (London, 1890), 3:28.

Brother Joseph of the Hospital acted as treasurer. Brothers of the Temple and Hospital also acted as ambassadors on a regular basis.<sup>23</sup>

Both the Order of the Temple and the Order of the Hospital also provided safe deposits for the king and lent him money. Any religious order could be called on to make the king a loan or to store money or other valuables, but the military orders were particularly suited for financial services. As the members of the military orders in Europe collected cash in alms from the faithful which they sent overseas to help the war effort in the Middle East, the orders developed mechanisms for accounting for, storing and transferring large volumes of cash across Christendom. The Templars' financial services for the kings of England have received good coverage from historians,<sup>24</sup> and do not require further study in this paper. Instead I shall focus on other specialised services which the orders performed for kings: "secret service" in the Becket affair and the supervision of shipping during war with France, 1214-26.

As brothers of the military orders were often used as ambassadors, it is not surprising to find them acting in that capacity during the period of King Henry II's dispute with Thomas Becket, that is, 1164-70. However, during this affair there is an air of underhand secrecy about their operations. Templars and Hospitallers carried information to both sides. Brother Ralph of the Hospital appeared carrying information to Becket's supporters and also guiding Henry II's messengers to the pope in 1166. When the

<sup>23</sup> For a general overview of the Templars in royal service, see Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Templer in königlichen und päpstlichen Diensten", in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. P. Classen and P. Scheibert, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1:289-308. For Templars and Hospitallers as ambassadors see, for instance, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Millor, S. J. and H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (London, 1955), 2:694-95; *The Life of Saladin by Behâ ed-Dîn*, ed. C. W. Wilson and C. R. Clonder, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society 13 (London, 1897), p. 263; *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 1:27b, 626; *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:11, 71; *Liberate Rolls (1226-40)*, p. 47, 160; *Liberate Rolls (1240-45)*, p. 94; *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1258-66)*, pp. 366, 476-77.

<sup>24</sup> Eleanor Ferris, "The Financial Relations of the Knights Templar to the English Crown", *American Historical Review* 8 (1903), 1-17; Sandys, "Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple".

archbishop of Cologne, Rainald von Dassel, asked the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa whether he should comply with King Henry's request to allow the envoys through his lands, the emperor replied that if he refused, the king of England would probably obtain the same result secretly through another Templar or Hospitaller or some other person whom the archbishop would not be able to guard against.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that Henry II was seen to be using these ambassadors more as secret agents than as simple messengers.

In 1165 John, bishop of Poitiers, wrote to Becket that Henry seemed to depend very much on the advice of the brothers of the Temple "plotting I know not what secret with them".<sup>26</sup> Thomas Becket complained in 1170 about the misuse Henry II had made of Templars and Hospitallers and members of other religious orders. In June of that year an anonymous correspondent warned him not to "believe those Templars, who do not walk in simplicity. They desire to carry out the king's will rather than yours, so they bring you nothing but lies from the king and father of lies, to deceive you".<sup>27</sup> This suggests a picture of Templars and Hospitallers travelling about western Europe, ostensibly on their orders' business of collecting alms, but in reality acting as undercover agents for the king of England.

Secondly, between 1214 and 1226 the English government called on the naval expertise of members of the Order of the Temple during war with France. The Close Rolls of the latter part of King John's reign indicate that Brother Roger of the Temple, the king's almoner, was given responsibility for overseeing shipping during the Barons' War. He collected freight duty (*frettum*) from merchants; this was waived when the ship was on the king's business. He was responsible for paying shippers their allowances

<sup>25</sup> Elie Bénger, *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, 3 vols (Paris, 1916-27), 1:407-8 no. 262.

<sup>26</sup> J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, RS 67, 7 vols (London, 1875-85), 5:220-21 no. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas of Canterbury, "Epistolae", in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, 24 vols (Paris, 1878), 16:424-26 no. 266; 16:430-32 no. 274.

when they were on the king's business. He assigned ships to the king's messengers going overseas and for transporting troops, horses and supplies to the king and his commanders. He was also responsible for arresting any suspect vessel which came into English ports. He paid out compensation for ships damaged in the king's service. At the same time he was responsible for bringing wine to the mouth of the Thames by ship.<sup>28</sup>

Roger's naval duties seem to have arisen out of the crisis. Control of the seas was vital during the war, when military aid and enemy armies likewise sailed to England from Flanders and France. As almoner, Roger was close to the king and was obviously one of the trusted few. He was also accustomed to dealing with money and supplying the poor with cash and goods. However, it does seem a large step from this to supplying the king with ships, cash and troops.

Brother Roger the almoner was not the only Templar whose services were employed by the English government during its struggle to control the seas in this period of crisis. In 1224, during the minority of Henry III, an entry in the Patent Rolls refers to the ship belonging to Brother Thomas of the Temple of Spain, which was coming to serve the king at the king's command.<sup>29</sup> This is presumably the ship for which Henry paid P., master of the Temple in the three Spains, 200 marks in July 1226 because the ship was so useful and necessary for the king that he had decided to keep it. Brother Thomas and his ship first appear in action in the English records in January 1225, when the sheriff of Cornwall was instructed to let Brother Thomas of the Temple, who had arrived at Fowey with his ship, have twenty marks and equipment for his ship before sending Brother Thomas to Portsmouth.<sup>30</sup> We later learn that Brother Thomas had previously been running his ship between La Rochelle and Bordeaux, carrying merchants' goods.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 1:214, 228, 228b, 229b, 230, 230b, 231b, 232, 233, 233b, 234b, 237, 239, 242b, 255.

<sup>29</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1216-25)*, p. 492.

<sup>30</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:14 and 154.

<sup>31</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:94b; *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1225-32)*, pp. 13-14.

When we next meet Brother Thomas in April 1225 he is called “keeper” (*custos*) “of the king’s Great Ship”, and is to be paid a hundred shillings for taking care of the ship and to support the crew.<sup>32</sup>

Like his predecessor Brother Roger the almoner, Brother Thomas appears to have been in charge of naval security. He, Thomas of Haye and Reginald of Bernevall were given instructions to release ships seized, one at La Rochelle and one at *Baspal*.<sup>33</sup> Brother Thomas was also responsible for overseeing the conversion of a Portuguese ship, *La Cardinale*, which was taken into the king’s service in September.<sup>34</sup>

In January 1226 Brother Thomas was fitting out the Great Ship to take reinforcements to the king’s army in Gascony, which was under the command of the king’s younger brother Richard, earl of Cornwall. He also took supplies of money and wood. Orders were issued to the masters of galleys and all other sailors in the galleys to obey “our beloved” Brother Thomas of the Temple, who was commanding the king’s Great Ship on its voyage to Gascony.<sup>35</sup> Thomas was to be accompanied by Reginald of Bernevall.

In May 1226 Reginald and Brother Thomas were back in England. They were sent a sum of money for fitting out the Great

<sup>32</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:33.

<sup>33</sup> The entry in *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2 p. 62 states that Reginald de Bernevall and Brother Thomas de Templo are to release two ships belonging to Reginald Porchet and Geoffrey Gundein, which they captured at *Baspal*, and allow them to leave with their cargoes. Clearly *Baspal* was on the coast. A similar incident is referred to on p. 51: Reginald de Bernevall, Brother Thomas and Thomas of Haye were to release ships laden with wines, which belonged to John Wissand and Philip Glenand of Gravening. The three officers had arrested the ships and stored the wine at La Rochelle. Hence it appears that Brother Thomas, Reginald de Bernevall and the Great Ship were patrolling the seas between Aquitaine and England. *Baspal* was probably a harbour on the west coast of France. The best candidate is Bias in Gascony. Batz at the mouth of the Loire is a possibility, but this area was not under Henry III’s control in 1225.

<sup>34</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:51, 62, 63, 69, 92b, 116.

<sup>35</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (1225-32), p. 10, p. 11; *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:94b.

Ship. They were also instructed to release a number of ships they had seized en route from Gascony to England.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout June 1226 preparations went on for another expedition to Gascony. On 22 June King Henry wrote to the knights, sergeants, bailiffs and masters of the ships and galleys and the sailors and oarsmen going to Gascony. They were to obey “our beloved and faithful” Brother Thomas of the Temple, Reginald of Bernevall, and Frank of Bresne.<sup>37</sup>

Brother Thomas drops out of view for several months. Then on 30 November 1226 an instruction was sent to the bailiffs of Portsmouth to take into their hands the possessions of Brother Thomas of the Temple “who used to command our Great Ship” and everything they find in the ship, and guard them safely until Henry gives other instructions.<sup>38</sup>

Apparently Brother Thomas was no longer in the king’s service. Was he under arrest? Had he returned to Spain after Henry paid for the Great Ship in July 1226? Was he dead? The royal administrative sources do not explain, but his possessions remained in the king’s hands.

There was one previous instance of a king of England employing a Templar as a naval commander. According to Roger of Howden’s *Chronica*, Robert of Sabloel (or Sablé) was commander of Richard I’s crusading fleet when it set sail from Dartmouth in England via Portugal to Sicily in 1190. In 1191 he was made master of the Order of the Temple, probably owing to the influence of King Richard who had found him a reliable and efficient officer. However, as Robert appears to have joined the order only after his spell as royal admiral, his career hardly explains why Henry III’s government resorted to the Templars for naval expertise.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:112b, 110b, 113, 113b, 114, 122.

<sup>37</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:122b; *Calendar of Patent Rolls (1225-32)*, p. 44.

<sup>38</sup> *Rotuli litterarum clausarum* 2:160; and 169, 172b, 183, 194b.

<sup>39</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 51, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), 3:36, 42, 45, 53; Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/9-1314* (Göttingen, 1974), p. 126.



The Templars had shown themselves to be generally reliable servants to the kings of England; Henry III and his regency government regarded them as trustworthy. A few references in the Patent Rolls show that the Templars of England and Gascony had ships for transporting produce for their own use or for carrying the merchandise of third parties. There is evidence elsewhere to show that the order had ships to carry money, pilgrims, supplies and members of the order to the Holy Land.<sup>40</sup> Henry and his government were in need of ships to launch the reconquest of Gascony, and the Spanish Templars' Great Ship was ideal for their needs. Presumably Brother Thomas was known as a skilled sailor who could also be relied upon to serve the English king faithfully.

It is puzzling that the Hospitallers were not called on to provide naval services during this period, although the order also had its own ships. Perhaps Hospitallers were not employed simply because the order was not so favoured by the king. However, in 1377 Brother Robert Hales, prior of the Hospital in England, was admiral of King Richard II's western fleet.<sup>41</sup>

It is interesting to contrast the Templars' involvement in national security with their lack of involvement in law and order enforcement. Unlike members of other religious orders, the master of the Temple and the prior of the Hospital in England did not serve as royal judges, presumably because they lacked legal knowledge.<sup>42</sup> The Templars were occasionally entrusted with the custody of prisoners, and during the period 1251-54 there are a few references

<sup>40</sup> See Malcolm Barber, "Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars", in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 314-26; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291", *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 201-27.

<sup>41</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Richard II (1377-81)* (London, 1895), pp. 26, 75.

<sup>42</sup> James Brundage, "The Lawyers of the Military Orders", in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 346-57.

in the records to their having custody of prisoners awaiting trial.<sup>43</sup> The Hospitallers had the privilege of burying the bodies of anyone who had given them alms, including hanged criminals, but the brothers did not act as jailers for the king.<sup>44</sup> Obviously they were only seen as suitable for performing certain services and not others.

Finally, why did these particular religious orders win royal favour? As defenders of the Holy Land the Templars and Hospitallers attracted patronage from European rulers who could not themselves go on crusade but who wished to assist the Christian cause, such as Henry II, John and Henry III of England. In their early years at least they also received patronage from kings because of their high spiritual standards. However, it is difficult to identify motivations because even royal donors say little about why they are making a donation beyond the usual formula, "for my soul". We may speculate that Queen Matilda and her husband King Stephen patronised the Order of the Temple both because of its work in the Holy Land, in which they had a dynastic interest, and because of the brothers' high spiritual reputation. Through her father Eustace III of Boulogne, Queen Matilda was the niece of the first two Latin rulers of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I; obviously she had a close dynastic connection with the European government in the Holy Land.<sup>45</sup> Yet her gifts were given for the soul of her father, her own soul and her ancestors' and successors' souls in free and perpetual alms, with no mention of helping the Holy Land.

It seems likely that royal favour depended partly on which order provided the services that the king wanted. In that the Templars seem to have taken on transfer and storage of cash to a

<sup>43</sup> *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1201-16*, ed. Thomas Duffy Hardy (London, 1835), p. 189b; *Close Rolls (1251-53)*, pp. 10, 69; *(1253-54)*, p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, R. B. Pugh, "The Knights Hospitallers as Undertakers", *Speculum* 56 (1981), 566-74.

<sup>45</sup> Eustace III had been the closest heir and a contender for the throne of Jerusalem on the death of his younger brother Baldwin I in 1118, although in the event Baldwin of Edessa succeeded to the throne. See Alan V. Murray, "Baldwin II and his Nobles: Baronial Factionalism and Dissent in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1118-1134", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 (1994), 60-85 (here 61-64, 73).

larger degree than the Hospital, the Templars were regarded as more useful and so received more favour. Nevertheless the London houses of both orders were used by kings to deposit jewels, property and cash, and both made loans to the king. In time the Hospital's importance grew: by 1276 the Hospital's headquarters at Clerkenwell was being designated the point of repayment for a debt, a role usually taken by the New Temple in London.<sup>46</sup> However, the New Temple remained the more important financial centre.

To some degree royal favour would depend on which order was more fashionable and was attracting recruits of the right calibre to provide the services required by the king. Fashionability would partly depend on which order was better known. Until the Third Crusade (1189-92), European chronicles gave the Order of the Temple far more prominence in accounts of events in the Holy Land than the Hospital. This suggests that there was little awareness in western Europe before 1187 that the Hospital had developed into a military order. Those whose favour sprang from the orders' military involvement in the Holy Land would tend to favour the order which seemed to be more involved; this might explain why the Hospital was at first less prominent in royal service than the Temple.

Yet there was also an element of personal preference, based on personal experience of individuals. Henry III and Brother Geoffrey of the Temple clearly got along well, but after Brother Geoffrey retired, no other Templar enjoyed Henry's confidence to the same degree. By the 1260s he felt that the Hospitallers were more trustworthy than the Templars. Had the Templars received too many privileges and become entrenched and too independent for Henry's liking? Or were their officers of a lower calibre than the Hospitallers?<sup>47</sup> Or had Henry come to believe that the Hospital, with its broad charitable/military function, was more deserving than the more purely military Order of the Temple?

<sup>46</sup> *Close Rolls (1272-79)*, p. 428.

<sup>47</sup> This is suggested by the satirist Jacquemart Gielée: see Helen Nicholson, "Jacquemart Gielée's *Renart le Nouvel*: The Image of the Military Orders on the Eve of the Loss of Acre", in *Monastic Studies 1*, ed. Judith Loades (Bangor, 1990), pp. 182-89.

Matthew Paris complained bitterly about Brother Geoffrey, whom he seemed to regard as an upstart undeserving of royal favour. Most members of the military orders were from the lesser nobility at best; the majority were not even knights. Yet their dependence on the king for their position could make them more suitable as royal officials. Some of them were from families already in royal service. Beatrice Lees noted that the Templar Richard of Hastings, one of those who advised King Henry II in the Becket crisis, probably came from the same Hastings family which provided various royal household officials.<sup>48</sup> Did such people join the Templars as part of their career structure, as if the order was a government department? There are other examples of royal servants joining a military order but remaining in the royal service, such as Isard *de Montegisard*,<sup>49</sup> a knight who was in the service of King Edward I. He entered the Order of the Hospital, but as Edward could not spare him to go overseas to serve the order, he wrote to the master of the Hospital in the East asking him to allow Isard to remain in England.<sup>50</sup>

It appears likely that the military orders won continual favour from the kings of England during the twelfth and thirteenth century and many varied roles in the royal administration partly because of their work in the Holy Land and their spiritual reputation, but also because the orders provided the king with the services he wanted and with adaptable loyal servants.

*University of Wales, Cardiff*

<sup>48</sup> Lees, *Records of the Templars*, pp. xlix-l.

<sup>49</sup> It is possible that Isard of Montegisard was named after Mont Gisard in the Holy Land and had entered the service of Edward I while the latter was on crusade at the beginning of his reign; or his ancestors could have lived in the Holy Land long enough to acquire the surname *Montegisard*. However, this can only be speculation.

<sup>50</sup> *Close Rolls (1296-1302)*, p. 378.

# **Commutation of Crusade Vows Some Examples from the English Midlands**

Michael R. Evans

By the end of the thirteenth century, the crusade had become a well-oiled military operation, one from which the authorities sought to exclude those groups who were deemed unsuitable for the task, such as the poor and destitute, the old and infirm, and certain married men. The practice of commutation of the crusade vow developed out of this process of exclusion, and was used as a means of raising money among those sections of the population who were not actively encouraged to participate. Given that these groups, although not directly involved in the military aspects of the crusade, were still expected to play their part in the enterprise, we can see that non-participation can tell us as much about the development of the crusading movement as participation.

This article will look at some of the methods used in the English Midlands to discourage mass participation, and at the strategies used by some recruits to avoid participation in person. But first, by way of comparison, it will look at the Council of Clermont, to assess the original intentions of the papacy regarding participation in the crusade.

To argue that the crusades became more of a strictly military operation over the course of the centuries implies a belief that they began as something more all-embracing. There is evidence in the

actual and reported statements of Pope Urban II at and immediately after the Council of Clermont of a call to crusade directed at all social classes. According to Fulcher of Chartres, who was an eye-witness, Urban told those present at Clermont in 1095 to “persuade everyone of no matter what class, be they knight or foot-soldier, rich or poor” (*ut cunctis ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus*) to join the crusade.<sup>1</sup> Another eye-witness, Robert of Rheims, is particularly informative on the pope’s views on who should be exempt from participation. The old and infirm were not expected to go, nor “those least suited to arms”. Women were not to go without the permission of their menfolk. Clerics were not to go without the permission of their bishop, nor lay people without the blessing of their parish priest. It is interesting to note, however, that while in later years family ties were often invoked as a reason for avoiding the crusade, family men were not excluded from Urban’s call: “If the dear love of children, parents or wives holds you back, remember what the lord says in the gospel: *He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me*”.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, although Urban clearly wished to limit participation to the militarily useful, the message was not directed solely at the knights. Urban’s statement that “this land ... does not overflow with copious wealth and scarcely furnished food for its own farmers alone” could be read as an appeal to the peasantry. Urban would have been aware that the poor as well as the rich undertook pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Guibert of Nogent has him ask, in his description of the supposed cruelties inflicted by the Saracens on Christian pilgrims, “What shall we say of those who, quite penniless, putting their faith in naked poverty, seem to have nothing to lose but their bodies and undertake this pilgrimage?”<sup>3</sup>

In Urban’s instructions after the council, we see him repeating his injunction against clerics departing without permission in his letters to Bologna in September 1096,<sup>4</sup> and to Vallombrosa<sup>5</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> FC p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> RM p. 729.

<sup>3</sup> GN p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam Primi Belli Sacri spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 137-38.

October of that year. He had by now extended the list of those who were not to go to include instructions that “young married men do not rashly set out on such a journey without the agreement of their wives”. This is a step back from his instructions at Clermont as reported by Baldric of Dol: “Do not let the seductive lures of your women and possessions persuade you not to go”.<sup>6</sup>

We see, therefore, that there is already some backsliding in Urban’s position at Clermont. There is, however, still no prohibition on the grounds of poverty or class. This is not to say that Urban intended or approved of the disorganised bands who had been pillaging their way through the Rhineland; the intention that lay people should obtain the permission of their priest was repeated to the people of Bologna. Nonetheless, Urban still seems to have wanted a crusade of all classes.

In contrast to Urban’s apparent desire at Clermont to recruit widely, by the thirteenth century there had been, to quote Christopher Tyerman, a “shift of purpose from the recruitment of men to the raising of money [which] caused the set piece sermon ... to be supplemented, in places supplanted, by bureaucratic procedures designed to achieve cash donations or vow exemptions”.<sup>7</sup> After the experience of the disorganised bands who joined the First and Second Crusades, the papacy subsequently took steps to limit participation to those best suited to a military expedition, while others were encouraged to commute their vows by provision of a proxy or by making a payment into the crusade funds. Pope Innocent III had allowed for the commutation, redemption or postponement of the vow in 1213,<sup>8</sup> and, in Beebe’s words, “within half a century the regular practice of commuting vows for financial payments had become standard. Pope Innocent’s provision of apostolic command had degenerated until commutation was automatic upon request to local legates or their

<sup>5</sup> Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 39-40.

<sup>6</sup> BD p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago, 1988), p. 152.

<sup>8</sup> Innocent III, *Opera Omnia* in PL 116:918-20.

delegates".<sup>9</sup> The crusade was increasingly seen as a means of raising money for the Holy Land as much as a means of recruiting fighting men.

What does a study of sources from the English Midlands in the thirteenth century tell us about the circumstances behind commutations of the vow? We find an illustration of the policy of limiting participation to those deemed suitable in 1247. Innocent IV commissioned the bishop of Worcester to assess the fitness of soldiers offered as substitutes by those who had taken the cross but were unable, or unsuitable, to participate in person.<sup>10</sup> This shows a concern by the church to ensure that a well-ordered army was created.

There are two interesting cases which throw some light upon the way that the crusade affected the position of villeins. The first, recorded by Stenton, relates to the practice of sending a substitute to the crusade. In a series of charters dating from around 1190, Hugh Travers, a villein from Staunton in Nottinghamshire, was granted his freedom by his lord, William de Staunton, in exchange for going on crusade as his lord's proxy. This was a remarkable occurrence; according to Stenton, "as the manumission of a villein for the expressed purpose of going on crusade in his lord's stead it is highly possible that the first charter of the series is unique".<sup>11</sup> William seems to have done the reverse of what the church intended when he sent his villein to the Holy Land in his stead, when the practice of using proxies was aimed at replacing those whom Albert of Aachen, writing about the "popular" bands of the First Crusade, had called the "detestable ... assemblage of way-faring people" with seasoned warriors.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Beebe, "Edward I and the Crusades" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1970), pp. 317-18.

<sup>10</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, A.D. 1198-1304*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), p. 235.

<sup>11</sup> Frank Stenton, "Early Manumissions at Staunton, Nottinghamshire", *English Historical Review* 26 (1911), 95-96.

<sup>12</sup> AA p. 295.



We find an opposite case of a villein contributing to the crusade in Lincolnshire some time before 1201.<sup>13</sup> Here Hubert, son of Reginald, was able to gain his freedom as a result of his lord Guy de Creoun's departure on crusade. It seems that he had arrived at an agreement whereby he would be remitted servile dues for four years during his lord's absence, and that if Guy did not return within the specified time, Hubert would become a free man. This agreement must have formed part of the process by which Guy raised the means of subsistence for his expedition, while it allowed Hubert to help the crusade without having to go in person. Going on crusade was potentially ruinous, even for the greatest in society; Robert of Normandy lost his duchy, which he mortgaged to his brother William II of England, and eventually lost in battle to Henry I, as a result of his participation in the First Crusade. The mortgage or sale of lands was one of the options open to a knight trying to raise the money he needed. In Guy's case, one of the expedients used was to allow one of his more prosperous villeins to buy his freedom. These two examples of villeins gaining their freedom as a by-product of the crusading movement provide an illustration of Poole's comment that "the crusade, involving the absence of many lords from their lands, doubtless worked a social upheaval".<sup>14</sup>

There are other examples, less beneficial to the peasants, of tenants being asked to contribute to the crusading expenses of their lord. This happened in the case of Sylvester of Evesham, bishop of Worcester, whose tenants were ordered by the crown to pay money towards his crusading expenses in 1218.<sup>15</sup> These examples show that the lower classes, while not always directly involved in the crusades, were still expected to contribute to the enterprise.

Elsewhere, we find examples where poverty acted as a bar to the crusade impulse. An inquiry in 1197 into the fulfilment of crusade vows in Holland (Lincolnshire) showed many pleading poverty as a

<sup>13</sup> *Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Records Office (Richard I and John)*, 16 vols (London, 1922-79), 2:13.

<sup>14</sup> Austin Poole, *Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (Oxford, 1946), p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Records Office, 1216-1225* (London, 1901), p. 143.

reason for their failure to go to the Holy Land. Eight of the men were described as *pauperrimus*, and two simply as *pauper*. Two more had been further reduced to a state of begging; Helias son of Hervus of Bicker is described as *pauper ... et mendicus*, and William Pistor of Gedney as *pauperimus mendicus*.<sup>16</sup> A further five men, although not explicitly described as *pauper*, claimed to have insufficient means to undertake the journey. The inquiry also found that family commitments were preventing some from going on crusade; seventeen were married, only one was said to be unmarried. One had a child, three had two children, one had four, three had five offspring and two had seven. One man had "many children", while two had an unspecified number. Age may also have been a factor, bearing in mind Pope Urban's prohibition on the old and infirm going on crusade; three men were described as middle-aged, and two as old (*decrepitate etatis* or *senex*).

These examples have mostly been concerned with the lower classes, but lords and knights might also have needed to commute their crusade vows. In 1150, the aptly-named William "the Fat", count of Aumale and lord of Holderness, and a substantial landowner in the east Midlands, founded the Cistercian abbey of Meaux in place of going on crusade. According to the abbey's chronicle, he was unable to go as he was too old and fat: "quod propter aetatis et corporis gravitatem minime valebat adimplere".<sup>17</sup> Adam, a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Fountains, sensing William's spiritual anguish at being unable to fulfil his vow, persuaded him to found an abbey of his order. In return, Adam interceded with Bernard of Clairvaux, who persuaded Pope Eugenius III to grant William's absolution.

However, a pope could also annul commutations granted by his deputies. In 1202, Innocent III instructed the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Worcester that their absolution of William de Stuteville and Robert de Berkeley had been in error, and

<sup>16</sup> "Schedule of Crusaders in Lincolnshire", in *Report: Various Collections, 1*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1901), pp. 235-36.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. Edward Bond, RS 43, 3 vols (London, 1866-68), 1:76.

decreed the absolutions null.<sup>18</sup> William de Stuteville was a leading landowner in the east Midlands, who had fought on the Third Crusade, and whom the pope would therefore have valued as a useful addition to the planned expedition. In the event, the archbishop and bishop had probably been right to grant the original absolution, as William died the following year, and never took part in the Fourth Crusade.<sup>19</sup>

A papal letter of November 1247 ordered that Robert de Quincy should be assigned the moneys collected for the Holy Land from the lands of, *inter alia*, the earl of Winchester (Roger de Quincy) and of William de Ferrers, his son-in-law.<sup>20</sup> We are looking here at an example where a noble non-participant still made a contribution to the crusades. The fact that William de Ferrers was heir to a family crusading tradition must surely have been significant; his grandfather and father had taken the cross on the Third and Fifth Crusades respectively, and we may suppose that William felt the pressure of this family tradition upon him. Participation, however, would have been problematic, as William was an invalid, being afflicted by gout, a condition aggravated when falling from a litter in which he was being carried.<sup>21</sup> He may have seen Robert de Quincy as his proxy, although there is no evidence that William took and redeemed a crusade vow himself, so Robert was not his substitute in the exact legal sense of the word.

The idea that raising money had replaced recruitment as the goal of preaching by the thirteenth century is confirmed by a series of entries from 1275 in the Register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York. These constitute a list of people who had taken the cross in the archdiocese, including thirty-eight *crucesignati* from the archdeaconry of Nottingham (i.e. Nottinghamshire). It is striking that in the list each name is accompanied by the price which they paid to be

<sup>18</sup> *The Letters of Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216, Concerning England and Wales*, ed. Christopher and Mary Cheney (Oxford, 1967), p. 71 no. 439.

<sup>19</sup> I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of Their Origin and Descent* (Oxford, 1960), p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, p. 239.

<sup>21</sup> *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cockayne, 13 vols (London, 1910-1959), 4:197.

released from their vows. The price varied, perhaps depending on the social status of the *crucesignatus*; most paid between two and five shillings, the latter sum being the most frequent, but some of the wealthy paid more. Two knights, Thomas "called Baldwin" and Roger, son of Thomas paid ten marks (£6 13s 4d) and twenty shillings respectively. Nicholas de Cnoville, a canon of Southwell, paid as much as twenty pounds, while Gilbert de Mora of Worksop pledged a third of his goods to the crusade.<sup>22</sup> The timing of this list in 1275 provides us with the context in which to understand it; in 1274 Pope Gregory X, impatient for some further activity on the crusade front, had called for either the fulfilment or redemption of vows.<sup>23</sup> In this instance, the lists may represent the response to a preaching campaign throughout the diocese, similar to that which we know was organised by Archbishop Romeyn of York in 1291,<sup>24</sup> but it seems more likely that the diocesan authorities were "calling in" unfulfilled vows, the commutation of which would provide much-needed money. The fact that the church's priority was the raising of money rather than men seems to be confirmed by the timing, coinciding with the collection of a crusade tenth in 1275 and with the archbishop's instructions that collecting boxes for the crusade be set up throughout the archdiocese. A number of churchmen, who would have been expected to remain with their flocks rather than join the crusade, appear on the list: a canon of Southwell; two priests of Retford deanery; and three priests from Bingham deanery.<sup>25</sup>

Some of those *crucesignati* who had their vows commuted for money had not taken the cross entirely voluntarily. Bishops' registers covering the Midlands include many examples where the crusade was in effect being imposed as a fine on petty offenders. By the later thirteenth century, it had become universal for excommunicates to be

<sup>22</sup> *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-1279*, ed. William Brown (Durham, 1904), pp. 279, 285-86.

<sup>23</sup> Beebe, "Edward I", p. 320.

<sup>24</sup> *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296*, ed. William Brown, 2 vols (Durham, 1913-17), 1:113; *Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. J. Raine, RS 61 (London, 1873), 93.

<sup>25</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, pp. 277, 285-86.

able to gain absolution by taking the cross;<sup>26</sup> this is reflected in some of the examples below. In effect, making a payment into the crusade funds was used as a form of punishment in place of excommunication. The crusade was seen in part as a pilgrimage, and could therefore be imposed as a penance on wrongdoers. It was then possible to use the church's procedures for buying a release from the vow to present the offender with the choice between fulfilment of the penance in person, or the payment of a fine. In the York list of 1275, there are cases where it is stated that the *crucesignatus* is a penitent. These are John de Neumarché and Thomas "called Baldwin", of Bingham deanery who both had to perform penance for assaulting a priest.<sup>27</sup>

There are many examples of these unwilling crusaders in other bishops' registers. In 1269, Walter of Benington, a clerk, was released from the bishop of Worcester's prison in exchange for taking an oath to go to Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> The Register of Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, provides numerous similar examples. Hugh, son of Emma Bunting of Stamford in Lincolnshire, took the cross in 1290 as penance for assaulting a clerk, as did William de Hanred of Brampton Ash and Henry Vintner of Branston. In William's case, he was also required to make a donation to the poor of the parish.<sup>29</sup> John Cleymund of Boston provided a man for the crusade in 1291 for the same reason. In 1292 Edward de Halestre fell foul of the diocesan authorities, and had the crusade imposed on him as a penance for taking part in the divine service while he was excommunicated. He was not the only cleric in the register to contribute to the crusade as a penance; in 1294, Richard, rector of Woodford in Northamptonshire, was compelled to give forty shillings to crusading funds as penance for wounding. Clearly some priests were as violent as their

<sup>26</sup> James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), p. 155.

<sup>27</sup> *Register of Walter Giffard*, pp. 285-86.

<sup>28</sup> *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester: Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd 1268 to August 15th 1301*, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund, 2 vols (Oxford, 1898-1902), 1:32.

<sup>29</sup> *The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299*, ed. Rosalind Hill, 8 vols (Lincoln, 1948-86), 3:12, 3:22, 3:19-20.

parishioners in the 1290s, although Richard claimed in his defence that he had mistaken his victim's identity in the dark.<sup>30</sup>

What conclusions can we draw from these few examples from the English Midlands? The evidence, especially that from Nottinghamshire in 1275, shows the extent to which by the later thirteenth century the organisation of the crusades was aimed at gaining money from commutation payments rather than recruiting men to fight. This was part of a process of increased formalisation of the practice of commutation; the thirteenth-century lists of payments into the crusade funds at an apparently fixed sum stands in contrast to William the Fat's opulent gesture in 1150 of founding a monastery. William's need to have the Cistercians intercede with the pope in order to extricate himself from his predicament indicates the lack of an established procedure for the commutation of vows at that time. In contrast, late thirteenth-century collectors of the crusade tenth were instructed to collect redemptions as part of their duties, illustrating the way that the commutation and redemption of vows had become routine, and had been integrated into the process of raising money, a process which included the imposition of the crusade as a means of ecclesiastical discipline.

Furthermore, our examples illustrate the concern to recruit only those suitable militarily to the crusade. The lists of poor Lincolnshire crusaders in 1197 and of clerics in Nottinghamshire in 1275 show two of the groups who were not actively encouraged to go. It is interesting to note, however, the absence of women from these lists. The difficulties faced by the dying William de Stuteville in 1202 in gaining absolution from his vow illustrate the extent to which the papacy hoped to encourage the knights to take part. However, the continuing desire to engage non-participants in the financial support of the crusade, and the apparent willingness of these non-participants to offer such support, suggest that the crusade continued to have an appeal for all sections of society. There was clearly still a great deal of vitality in the crusade movement in the late thirteenth-century Midlands.

*University of Nottingham*

<sup>30</sup> *Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton*, 3:159-60, 4:13, 3:19-20.

**“Nowhere was the  
Fragility of their Sex Apparent”  
Women Warriors in the Baltic Crusade  
Chronicles**

Rasa Mazeika

Swantepolk, duke of Pomerania, learning of the absence of the [Teutonic Order] brothers and the citizens of Elbing, proceeded there after gathering a great army to attack the fort and town. Seeing this, the women [of Elbing], laying aside feminine adornment, put on a male frame of mind, *girded swords upon the thigh* [Vulgate Psalms 44.4], and ascended the battlements, comporting themselves so manfully [*viriliter*] for their defence, that nowhere was the weakness of their sex apparent. Hence the duke, thinking that the brothers and townsmen had returned, retreated in fear. Nor should you believe that this only happened here, but [also] many times in other places where in the absence of the men the fortifications would have

been endangered, if the boldness [*audacia*] of the women had not put up a resistance.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Peter of Dusburg, a priest of the military monastic Teutonic Order, depicts an attack on the order's town of Elbing by the duke of Pomerania (ally of the Prussian pagans) in 1245. Dusburg's chronicle, completed in 1326, describes his order's long crusade against the pagan Old Prussians and Lithuanians which benefited from indulgences identical to those given for fighting in the Holy Land and which attracted the flower of European chivalry.<sup>2</sup> Scholars believe Dusburg utilised reports from eyewitnesses and the order's own oral tradition, since written sources can be found for only a small part of Dusburg's section III.<sup>3</sup> The story of the "manly" women of Elbing does not appear in the known sources for his chronicle.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peter von Dusburg, *Chronicon Terrae Prussiae*, SRP 1:78: "Swante-polcus dux Pomeranie, intelligens absenciam fratrum et civium de Elbingo, congregato magno exercitu ad impugnandum castrum et civitatem ibidem processit. Quo viso mulieres deposito ornatu muliebri, mentem virum induerunt, et femur cingentes gladio menia ascenderunt, tam viriliter se ad defensionem disponentes, quod nusquam ibi sexus fragilitas apparebat. Unde dux estimans exercitum fratrum et civium reversum, cum verecundia recessit. Nec credas hoc solum hic factum, sed pluries in aliis locis ubi in absentia virorum municiones fuissent periclitare, si non restitisset audacia mulierum". All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction in English to this crusade, see Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525* (Minneapolis, 1980); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (London, 1987), pp. 161-65, 212-15; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 322-75; and Stephen C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire Within East-Central Europe 1295-1345* (Cambridge, 1994). For non-German participants, Werner Paravicini, *Die Preußenreisen des europäischen Adels*, 2 vols (Sigmaringen, 1989-95). Recent historiography: Rasa Mazeika, "The Grand Duchy Rejoins Europe: Post-Soviet Developments in the Historiography of Pagan Lithuania", *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 289-303.

<sup>3</sup> Marzena Pollakówna, *Kronika Piotra z Dusburga* (Wrocław, 1968), p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Full discussion of sources in Hartmut Boockmann, "Die Geschichtsschreibung des Deutschen Orders", in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichts-*



Of course, this leaves open the problem of sheer invention by the chronicler to entertain and edify. There is no *a priori* reason to assume such stories must be invented. Elsewhere in medieval Europe, women did sometimes take part in combat, even fighting with sword and lance.<sup>5</sup> We will see that there are stories of bellicose women much more factually told in other early chronicles of the Teutonic Order and of the Order of Sword Brothers in Livonia. Some of the stories have a moralising or anagogical gloss, but so do most medieval sources. Literary models have never been suggested as an influence on Peter of Dusburg by the many investigators of his sources, although specialists in medieval literature might be able to add to this question.<sup>6</sup> In any case, the predominant, medieval literary

*bewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 449-54; Gerard Labuda, "Zu den Quellen der 'Preussischen Chronik' Peters von Dusburg", in *Der Deutschordensstaat Preußen in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart*, ed. Udo Arnold and Marian Biskup (Marburg, 1982), pp. 133-64.

<sup>5</sup> Eleanor of Aquitaine, Jeanne de Montfort, Richarda Visconti, Jeanne Hachette, Joan of Arc and women of lesser rank described in Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 241-42; Isabel of Conches and Sibyl, wife of Robert Bordet in Marjorie Chibnall, "Women in Orderic Vitalis", *Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 105-21 (here 114-16); Richilda of Hainaut and Gaita, wife of Robert Guiscard, in Carolyne Larrington, *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe* (London, 1995), p. 158. The Arab historians 'Imād al-Dīn and Ibn al-Athīr describe women fighting armed and on horseback against Saladin's forces in 1189-90: see Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London, 1969), pp. 207, 183, 189, and Helen Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France", *Signs* 16 (1991), 522-49 n. 53.

<sup>6</sup> See works cited in n. 3 above. It is impossible to know what Peter von Dusburg might have read; we do not even know if he resided and wrote at Marienburg or Königsberg, nor do we know the contents of the order's libraries. Surviving literature of the Teutonic Order is mostly hagiographical, biblical or chronicles: Karl Helm and Walther Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Gießen, 1951). Dusburg writes of the Virgin's complaint that "deeds of kings and princes" were read at table to the Teutonic Knights instead of religious works (1:95), so he may have disapproved of chivalric literature, but of course still could have been influenced by it. Interestingly, for the eleventh-century historian Adam of Bremen, the land of Amazons who "manfully"

*topos* for women warriors seems to be the individual Amazon or knightly lady, described in terms of individual prowess and beauty.<sup>7</sup> Such description is sometimes found for male knights in the Teutonic and Livonian Order chronicles but is totally absent in the stories about combative women presented in this paper, where the personal attributes of the women are not described at all. Rather, the fighting woman is a tool of Satan or of God, the supernatural power made more manifest precisely by her womanly weakness, which she casts off only temporarily.

From the limited sources available we cannot know how much women actually fought in the wars of the Baltic crusades, where they certainly played an important role as casualties and booty. This article encompasses only stories from the military monastic orders' thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chronicles. Some of these tales are probably true, some may be anecdotal, but most are not impossible or even unlikely. One of the two miracle stories is recounted not as an assertion by the chronicler but rather as a tale told by pagan captives, and is historically believable as such.

Although the stories presented here have been almost ignored by scholars, they clearly show the world-view of the chroniclers and are probably an indication of conditions on the north-eastern frontier of medieval Christianity, where *everyone* – men, women, priests, burghers, even the Virgin Mary – had to be *virile* and warlike, to act with *audacia* to defend themselves and their allies in a brutal and long-lasting war. For the chroniclers of this war, whether a

[*viriliter*] spurn men was on the shores of the Baltic: *Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover, 1917), pp. 246-47.

<sup>7</sup> Aimé Petit, "Le traitement courtois du thème des Amazones d'après trois romans antiques: Eneas, Troie et Alexandre", *Le Moyen Age* 89 (1983), 63-84; Roy A. Boggs, "The Popular Image of Brunhilde", in *The Roles and Images of Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Douglas Radcliff-Umstead (Pittsburgh, 1975), pp. 23-39; Sarah Westphal-Wihl, "The Ladies' Tournament: Marriage, Sex, and Honor in Thirteenth-Century Germany", *Signs* 14 (1989), 371-98. Cf. Florence smashing the face of Machary in "Le Bone Florence" – she was exceptional enough to be able to evoke a storm by prayer – and female saints waxing violent: Margaret Adlum Gist, *Love and War in the Middle English Romances* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 41.

combatant is male or female seems less important than their choice of sides, for God or Satan. Suffused with divine or demonic power, a weak woman becomes strong. Her sex is of interest only anecdotally, it makes the story livelier and may add titillation, but the main point is the struggle of supernatural forces which transcend human categories such as nationality, profession or sex.

The tale of the women of Elbing cited earlier is a case in point. Peter of Dusburg uses it to demonstrate the superiority of Christians, even when they are of the “weaker sex”, over the pagans and their renegade ally Swantepolk. Certainly Dusburg has a conventional vision of appropriate roles for each gender. To become strong enough to defend the fort, the women must put on *mentem virum*, must act *virile*, literally laying aside the ornaments which are the symbols of their sex. However, I would argue that *viriliter* in this passage refers also to a feminine paradigm, an Old Testament heroine very important in Dusburg’s chronicle: Judith, who cut off the head of her people’s enemy, Holofernes, and is a symbol not only of bravery but of the chaste woman.<sup>8</sup> She is the only *virile* woman in Scripture, lauded because “fecisti viriliter et confortatum est cor tuum” (Judith 15.11; Dusburg II, 8). Christian women of the Teutonic Order’s frontier towns are probably being presented by Dusburg, here and in other episodes I will discuss, as new Judiths

<sup>8</sup> In a section on the ideals of the Teutonic Order, Peter von Dusburg mentions Judith repeatedly as an *exemplum* (1:40, 43, 45), omitting all mention of the Virgin Mary, official patroness of the order, although the latter does appear in miracles throughout the chronicle. Dusburg’s paraphrase of Judith 15.11 shows why Judith is such a good example for an order of warrior monks: “Judith eciam viriliter egit et Holofernem occidit, populumque domini a periculis liberavit, eo quod castitatem amavit”. (1:43). A German verse translation of the book of Judith, probably written in 1304, was part of the literature of the Teutonic Order (Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 71-73), but Dusburg paraphrases the Vulgate rather than this translation: see 1:43, 45 with Vulgate Judith 14.2 and 15.11 and Hans-Georg Richert, *Judith aus der Stuttgarter Handschrift HB XIII.11* (Tübingen, 1969) pp. 67, 73.

who match the bravery of the “new Maccabees”, an image applied to the Teutonic Knights by Dusburg and other sources.<sup>9</sup>

Yet the story is not only a morality tale. Stylistically, it is one of two entertaining interludes inserted by Dusburg in a factual catalogue of battles taken from another chronicle.<sup>10</sup> Unlike most of Dusburg’s anecdotes, however, this story ends with the assertion that there were many such incidents, as we can well believe for an area of small frontier towns protected by garrisons of a few Teutonic Knights who would have to make raids into surrounding territory, taking townsmen with them as auxiliaries and leaving the castle town undefended.

We have a much more matter-of-fact, first-hand account of women on the battlements in the Baltic wars by Henry of Livonia, whose chronicle relating the exploits of the Livonian Order of Sword Brothers was finished in 1226-27.<sup>11</sup> Henry ends the main part of his chronicle with the assertion, “Nichil alitem hic aliud superadditum est, nisi ea, *que vidimus oculis nostris* [Bauer points out the echo of 1 John 1.1] *ferre cuncta, et que non vidimus propriis oculis, ab illis intelleximus, qui viderunt et interfuerunt*”.<sup>12</sup> Indeed,

<sup>9</sup> On the use of the books of the Maccabees, see Mary Fischer, “*Di Himmels rote*”: *The Idea of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Göppingen, 1991), pp. 95-123.

<sup>10</sup> Peter von Dusburg 1:75-80 is based on the chronicle of Heinrich von Hohenlohe, *Bericht über die Eroberung Preussens*, SRP 5:163-66. Between them are inserted the story of the Elbing women and the tale of a joke played on a cowardly warrior. Both are told with humour yet relate to real battles, and thus may be facts made livelier by an anecdotal style or fictional anecdotes embroidered by a realistic locus.

<sup>11</sup> Albert Bauer, *Heinrich von Lettland: Livländische Chronik* (Würzburg, 1959), p. xvi; Paul Johansen, “Die Chronik als Biographie: Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung”, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, n. s. 1 (1953), 1-24 (here 3); James A. Brundage, *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (Madison, 1961), p. 13. On Henry’s sources, see Wilis [Vilis] Bilkins, *Die Spuren von Vulgata, Brevier und Missale in der Sprache von Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae* (Riga, 1928).

<sup>12</sup> Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, 31 (Hannover, 1955), p. 215.

he was active in the Livonian wars in what is now Latvia and Estonia from 1205 onwards, and is thought to have been present at the attack on Riga in 1210 described here:<sup>13</sup>

Fishermen from all parts of the Daugava [Düna, Dvina] River fled to Riga, announcing that [the pagan Curonian] army was following them. The citizens and the brothers of the Order and the crossbowmen, although they were few in number, with clerics and women all rushed to arms ... some of us, having brought small three-pronged iron nails, scattered these on the road ...<sup>14</sup>

This eyewitness account describes a situation similar to that of the women of Elbing depicted by Dusburg: here there are some armed men present, but only a few; everyone must contribute to the defence, including two categories of people usually exempt from fighting, clerics and women. Booby-trapping the road with three-pronged studs (perhaps similar to the four-pronged caltrop) is an example of dangerous actions which they could have performed while soldiers were on the battlements. The universality of resistance to the heathen also makes a moral point to strengthen the fighting will of the constantly-besieged towns.

Women could encourage and shame flagging men precisely because of the stereotyping which presumed the weaker sex was female:

Nameda, mother of the Posdraupoti of Monteminar, said to her sons: I grieve, that I ever bore you [cf. Proverbs 17.25], because you do not want to defend your life and nation against the enemy. Her sons and others of the garrison, provoked by

<sup>13</sup> Albert Bauer, *Heinrich von Lettland* (Würzburg, 1959), pp. xi, xiii.

<sup>14</sup> Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon*, p. 76: "Sed piscatores ex omni parte Dune eos [the pagan army] videntes Rigam fugiunt, exercitum sequentem indicant. Cives autem et fratres milicie et balistarii, essent licet pauci, cum clericis et mulieribus omnes ad arma confugiunt ... Quidam eciam ex nostris habentes apud se ciaviculos ferreos tridentes et [sic] proiecerunt eos in via, qua exercitus veniebat".

these words, sallied out to battle, and killed over 2,000 of the infidel host.<sup>15</sup>

Here is a perfect example from Dusburg's chronicle of a moralistic *topos* which may yet be a true incident (allowing for inflated numbers), especially since persons named in Dusburg usually are historical, although we unfortunately know nothing about Nameda or the Posdraupati. One is reminded of the Arab historian 'Imād al-Dīn's description of "old women" accompanying the Christian armies of the Third Crusade who "exhorted and incited men to summon their pride"<sup>16</sup>

When the men were not able to repel the pagan enemy, women might be left to defend themselves with their bare hands. When pagan Sudovians attacked the Teutonic Order's town of Kulm (now the Polish city of Chełmno), Dusburg relates:

A certain strong man of the Sudovians followed a Christian woman who fled into a swamp, and while he wished to kill her, she, forgetful of the weakness of her sex, manfully [*viriliter*] resisted. Indignant at this, he bit through her thumb, and she, provoked to anger against him, filling his mouth and ears with mud, thoroughly suffocated him.<sup>17</sup>

This Baltic version of mud-wrestling, like the story of the Elbing women, is inserted as light relief in the midst of lists of battles with no narrative detail. It is probably meant to be amusing, but the joke is on the pagan man. The anecdote may be fictional, but is not

<sup>15</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 131: "Nameda mater Posdraupati de genere Monteminarum, ait ad filios suos: doleo, quod vos unquam genui, ex quo non vultis vitam et gentem vestram ab hostibus defendere. De quibus filii ejus et alii castrenses provocati, exierunt ad bellum, et de exercitu infidelium ultra duo milia occiderunt".

<sup>16</sup> Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 207.

<sup>17</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 127: "De hoc exercitu quidam vir fortis de Sudowia mulierem cristianam, que hoc tempore confugerat ad paludem, secutus fuit, et dum eam vellet occidere, ilia fragilitate sexus sui oblita viriliter restitit. Dequo ipse indignatus pollicem ei cum dentibus precidit, ilia e contra provocata in iram cum luto os eius et aures implens penitus suffocavit".

unbelievable. A struggling woman could cause even a strong warrior to slip and drown in the mud of a swamp.

Again, a moral gloss adds respectability to an entertaining tale. As in the same chronicler's story about Elbing, the superiority of even weak Christian women over strong pagans is stressed, and the adjective *viriliter* may again refer to Judith 15.11. While the tribe of the attacker is noted, the nationality of the woman is not. She may be German or Polish, but the point is her Christianity which makes the weak strong. The implication that death at the hands of a woman is ridiculous and shameful for the pagan warrior,<sup>18</sup> makes the tale entertaining for the Teutonic Knights, and could explain preservation in their barracks-room lore of some such story based on a true event.

Two other incidents in Dusburg's and Henry of Livonia's chronicles describe pagans struck down *per manum feminae* (cf. Judith 13.19, 14.16 16.7), which is depicted as a specific punishment for mocking the Christian God and trusting to pagan deities. According to Dusburg, the Lithuanian ruler Vytenis had raided Prussia and was leading away a thousand Christian captives, when,

Behold, this king blasphemed the name of Jesus Christ ... not recognising the power of God, and said to the captive Christians who were standing there bound, "*Where is thy God?* [Vulgate Psalms 41.4, 41.11, 78.10, 113.2, Joel 2.17, Judith 7.21] Why doesn't he help you, as our gods help us?"<sup>19</sup>

The next day, writes Dusburg, a force of Teutonic Knights comes upon the scene and defeats the more numerous Lithuanians, striking them with Old Testament-style vengeance ["*percussit eos plaga*

<sup>18</sup> The biblical account of Judith stresses that Holofernes was struck down "*per manum feminae*" (Judith 13.19, 16.7); for a parallel in secular German literature, *Nibelungenlied*, strophes 443 and 2374.

<sup>19</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 176: "*Et ecce rex iste blasphemus nominis Jesu Cristi ... nunquam recogitans potestatem dei, et ait ad Cristianos captos, qui ligati astiterunt ibi: ubi est deus vester? quare non adjuvat vos, sicut dii nostri auxiliati sunt nobis nunc et altera vice?*"

magna” – cf. 1 Samuel 19.8]. Then the erstwhile women captives take revenge:

The captive Christian women, when they saw that victory had come from Heaven for them, forgetful of the weakness of their sex, rushing quickly upon the Lithuanians who guarded them, killed them in whatever manner they could. In memory of this glorious victory and for the praise and glory of Jesus Christ the brothers founded a convent of nuns in the city of Thorn and endowed it munificently.<sup>20</sup>

Dusburg obviously revels in the disgraceful death which befalls God-mockers.<sup>21</sup> He uses the phrase “forgetful of the weakness of their sex” (which we have already encountered in his story of the woman in the swamp) to show once again that God makes the weak strong, which the chronicle may have seen as a useful moral for the Teutonic Knights, so often outnumbered in pagan territory. Yet all this may be only a moral gloss to a true episode, which is dated in the chronicle only fifteen or sixteen years before the time of writing. The mention of endowing a convent adds credence: was this meant as a refuge for these former captives, who would all be widowed, since men were killed and women taken captive?<sup>22</sup>

A very similar episode appears in the earlier chronicle of Henry of Livonia, which has never been considered a source for Dusburg and deals with a different land and a different military

<sup>20</sup> Peter von Dusburg, pp. 176-77: “Mulieres eciam cristiane, de celo victoriam venisse, que capte ibi fuerant, dum vidissent sibi immemores fragilitatis sexus sui irruentes repente in Lethowinos qui eas custodiebant modo quo poterant occiderunt. In memoriam hujus gloriose victorie et ad laudem et gloriam Jesu Cristi fratres claustrum sanctimonialium in civitate Thorun fundantes donis magnifies dotaverunt”.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the apostate’s heart eaten by a dog, Peter von Dusburg, p. 147.

<sup>22</sup> Was this the Benedictine convent mentioned in *Preussisches Urkundenbuch 2*, ed. Max Hein and Erich Maschke (Königsberg, 1939), nos. 594, 618, 791, or the Cistercian convent of *Preussisches Urkundenbuch 2*, nos. 689, 692? Cf. the convent founded by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights in 1349 to show gratitude for victory of Strewa: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch 4*, ed. Hans Koeppen (Marburg, 1964), no. 470 p. 430.



order. The Osilian Estonians, having cast lots to know the will of their gods, attack the Estonians of Jerwa, who have accepted Christianity. The Sword Brothers come to the rescue and defeat the Osilian army.

And the Jerwa women, who had been led as captives by the Osilians, leapt up and struck with sticks and staves the Osilians who had been stricken [by the Sword Brothers], saying, "May the God of the Christians smite thee!" [cf. Acts 23.2].<sup>23</sup>

Again, the women (like all the characters in the chronicles under discussion) are only instruments of God's power, part of God's massed battle ranks which include all categories of humans, in this case female former pagans of a different nationality to the crusaders. Yet again, the story could be true. We will see later that Estonian women are presented as killers in another chronicle, and one can imagine them lauding the Christian God as a war ally if they had constantly heard the Sword Brothers use the same terminology.

When the Christians suffer defeat because of a woman, her strength is also attributed to the supernatural, but of course her aid is said to be from the Devil, not God. Dusburg attributes the destruction of the Teutonic Order's fort of Brandenburg to a Prussian woman, called a "daughter of Belial", who goes from the fort to alert nearby pagan troops when the Teutonic Knights are away on a raid and the fort is undefended.<sup>24</sup> The story is told factually and is quite possibly true, if only because it is so embarrassing to the order, and there is no indication of the divine punishment which would belong in a morality tale.

<sup>23</sup> Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon*, p. 166: "Et exilientes mulieres Gerwanensium, que captive ducte fuerunt ab Osiliensibus, percusserunt eciam ipse cum fustibus Osilienses iam ante percussos, dicentes, 'Te percutiat Deus christianorum!'"

<sup>24</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 115: "castrum Brandenburgk esset destructum per hunc modum. Quedam mulier Pruthena similis [*sic MS*; 'servilis' is editorial conjecture] condicionis, filia Belial, recessit de dicto castro, et Glapponi capitaneo Warmiensium fratrum absenciam recitavit; qui cum multis armigeris veniens ipsum expugnavit". Pagan men are called "sons of Belial" in Peter von Dusburg, p. 102.

Another probably true story involves an Estonian woman and is found in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle. This work, recounting events from 1143 to 1290, was written by an anonymous author who came to Livonia by 1279 and died near the end of the thirteenth century. He was probably a member of the Teutonic Order and almost certainly participated in the Livonian wars against the Estonians.<sup>25</sup>

The Rhymed Chronicle relates how Estonians rebelling against rule by the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order take two brothers captive and try to starve them to death. An Estonian woman, with her husband's consent, secretly feeds them, but disguises her help by throwing stones at the captives and asking the other Estonians, "Why do you allow the Germans to live? / I to them death will give!"<sup>26</sup> She manages to save the captives, and after the rebellion is rewarded with freedom from the serfdom and punitive tithes which are the punishment of other Estonians.

This might seem just an invented story to serve as an exhortation to subject peoples, but the author of the Rhymed Chronicle adds: "Emma and Vilemas her husband / I would that good came to both their souls / they oft and well looked after me" (lines 797-99). These are real people the chronicler knew, and the

<sup>25</sup> Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 147-49; Norbert Angermann, "Die mittelalterliche Chronistik", in *Geschichte der Deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch (Cologne, 1986), pp. 9-10.

<sup>26</sup> *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), lines 779-796; cf. Jerry C. Smith and William Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (Bloomington, 1977), p. 12. Smith's translation is cited in the next paragraph. "Daz sie [the Germans] nicht beide hungers tôt / bliben, von der grôzen nôt / half in ein heidensch vrowe gût / die hatte tugenthaften mût: / mit ires mannes râte vrû unde spâte / quam sie dâ sie lâgen. / mit spîse ir nicht entpflâgen / die bôsen Eisten durch iren haz. / sie sprach zornlich: 'umme waz lâzet ir die dûtschen leben? / den tôt wil ich in selbe geben.' / so warf sie steine zût in in, / daz niemant prûven mochte iren sin: / dar under gab sie spîse gût. / alsus trôste sie in den mût, / des sie doch sint vil vol genôz: / sie bleip vrie, alles zinses blôz". Cf. *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 6427-56, where the wife of the Lithuanian king saves her chaplain from death when all Christians are driven out of Lithuania.

story might well have been related by Emma herself, although this of course does not make it true. For our purposes, the actual contribution Emma made to the prisoners' safety is less interesting than the glimpse it gives of conditions in the Baltic region, where a strong knight's life might depend on aid from a woman, and where a woman could threaten to kill a knight with her own hands.

From an Estonian woman, this was no idle threat. There is some archaeological evidence of medieval Estonian women buried with daggers of the sort used in warfare and buried only with men in neighbouring Lithuania.<sup>27</sup> In another episode in the Rhymed Chronicle, an Estonian woman does commit violent murder. Estonians in revolt have decreed death for all Germans in their lands. One German is lured into a house and killed by an Estonian couple. The man plans the murder, but his pregnant wife strikes the first blow, hiding behind a doorway and hitting the hapless German with an axe from behind. Her baby is born deformed and the chronicler calls this a punishment from God which causes grief for both the father and mother. Man and wife are presented as equal partners in the crime against the Christian, and they share equally in the punishment.<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps this was a tale making the rounds in Livonia: the chronicler states that the papal legate William of Modena wrote to Rome about the episode. We have no way of judging its truthfulness. One credible touch is the use of an axe as the murder weapon, since this was a household tool used by women to chop firewood, and did not require the expert knowledge of other weapons.

An axe is also used by a woman to kill men in a probably true episode in the chronicle of Wigand of Marburg, a herald of the Teutonic Order in Prussia under Grand Master Konrad von Wallenrod (1391-93). This work, originally a rhymed German chronicle, is extant only in a fifteenth-century abridged Latin trans-

<sup>27</sup> *Lietuvos archeologijos bruožai*, ed. Pranas Kulikauskas et al. (Vilnius, 1961), pp. 433-34.

<sup>28</sup> *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 1281-1332.

lation and some paraphrases in a sixteenth-century German chronicle. It spans the years 1293-1394.<sup>29</sup>

Wigand describes an attack in 1336 on the Lithuanian fort of Pilenai. As the crusader army breaches the defences, the Lithuanians commit mass suicide rather than be captured. In full sight of the Teutonic Knights, warriors slay their wives and children and toss their bodies into a huge funeral pyre. Then the men allow themselves to be decapitated either by their chieftain or by an "old woman" who chops off over a hundred heads, and finally spatters her own brains with the same axe.<sup>30</sup>

Writing in an era when some chivalrous ideals had penetrated even to the wars in the Baltic, Wigand often recounts with relish brave exploits of the pagan enemy which serve to make the Baltic seem a more worthy battleground for the kings and dukes the Teutonic Order was by then attracting to its crusades.<sup>31</sup> Although barbaric in Christian eyes, the slaughter of his own family and warriors by the chieftain is certainly brave and in pagan terms honourable, and makes for a rousing battle tale. The axe-wielding old woman is believable to us because she strikes such a discordant note: as we have seen, other chroniclers presented death at a woman's hands as disgraceful and ridiculous. In fact, Wigand or his translator indicates some doubt by introducing this detail with the

<sup>29</sup> SRP 2:431-42, 450; Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 165-66.

<sup>30</sup> Wigand von Marburg, *Cronica nova Prutenica*, SRP 2:488-89: "Pagani exercitum videntes perterriti sunt, desperantes de castris observacione, infinita bona in ignem projecerunt, se ipsos occiderunt, ubi, ut ayunt, quedam vetula pagana cum securi 100 ex eis occiderit et se ipsam post interemit ...". This is a hurried and abridged fifteenth-century Latin translation of the lost original German text of Wigand, which survives only in a few fragments and in paraphrased quotations by Caspar Schütz in his *Historia rerum Prussicarum* (Leipzig, 1599). On the sack of Pilenai, Schütz's text indicates many details, including the manner of the old woman's death: "Wigandus schreibt auch, das do eine alte keidinne gwesen sey, welche mit einer axt uber 100 manne, die guttwillig den todt von yhr entfiengen, entleibet, und sich selbst zuletzt, do der feint eingebrochen, mit derselben axt den kopff zersplaten habe ..." (p. 489).

<sup>31</sup> Zenonas Ivinskis, *Rinkiniai raštai* (Rome, 1986), 2:81.

phrase *ut aiunt* which is not applied to any other details of the same battle.

In 1604 Jesuit missionaries in a still-pagan Lithuanian countryside recorded a belief in “old wise women” [*žynes*], considered witches by Christians but held in respect and fear by the Lithuanians.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the head-chopping old woman in Wigand’s narrative is one of these.

Another *žynė* may be described in Dusburg’s story of an Old Prussian “prophetess”, a “domina ... que secundum ritum ipsorum sacra et prophetissa reputabatur”, to whom Galindian Prussian women complain about female infanticide in a time of scarcity (for which there is some historical evidence).<sup>33</sup> The prophetess summons their chiefs and announces that the gods wish them to wage war on the Christians without weapons or armour. The men “obey at once” and are all killed.<sup>34</sup> Here Dusburg is describing events much before his own day in anecdotal form, and it is impossible to know if the story has any historical basis. Perhaps it is a Prussian legend.

If so, how intriguing that the same chronicle contains the story of a woman leading men in war which may have been invented by the pagan Prussians about the crusaders. After losing a battle around 1260, writes Dusburg, Prussian captives said

<sup>32</sup> *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu anni MDC ad patres et fratres eiusdem societatis* (Douai, 1618), p. 746, cited by Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, p. 123.

<sup>33</sup> Pope Honorius III reacts to information from the bishop of Prussia: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, 1, ed. R. Philippi (Königsberg, 1882), no. 24. Of course, the bishop needs to recount stories of pagan atrocities to strengthen his appeal for funds for his mission.

<sup>34</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 52: “quicquid nasceretur sexus feminini, occideretur, et masculi ad bellum servarentur ... Super quo contemptu et detastabili facto mulieres indignate accesserunt ad quandam dominam, que secundum ritum ipsorum sacra et prophetissa reputabatur, ad cuius imperium huius terre facta singula regebantur, petentes sibi super hoc negocio salubriter provideri. Que compaciens sexui suo, convocatis ad se pocioribus tocius terre, ait ad eos: dii vestri volunt. ut omnes sine armis et ferro vel aliquo defensionis amminiculo contra Cristianos bellum moveatis. Quo auditu statim obediunt ... Cristiani, cum magna turba secuti, irruerunt in eos, et omnes sine defensione aliqua occiderunt ...”.

that they had seen in the thick of battle a most beautiful maiden in the air leading the banner of the brothers. They became so afraid of this vision, their hearts withered within them, and none dared to put up a defence.<sup>35</sup>

At first glance, this seems like a miracle story about the Virgin Mary inserted by the chronicler. Yet such a portrayal of the Virgin playing a direct role in battle is very uncharacteristic of Dusburg.<sup>36</sup> Mary may have become for the Teutonic Order a “war goddess”, as Christiansen writes,<sup>37</sup> or perhaps a “suzerain” as Dygo postulates,<sup>38</sup> but she is not a combatant in the early chronicles of the Teutonic Order. Wigand of Marburg attributes victory in one instance to her intervention, but even in his chronicle Mary does not appear in person on the battleground.<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere in Dusburg’s chronicle the Virgin certainly approves of the order’s wars, but she actively intervenes to help, comfort and warn, not to do battle.<sup>40</sup>

The one exception is in the Supplement to Dusburg’s chronicle for which authorship has not been established. Mary appears to the leader of a Hungarian army invading the order’s territory. She angrily asks, “Why are you destroying my land?” and warns, “If you do not retreat, know that you will soon die an evil death!” Meanwhile, the king of Hungary, who is fighting elsewhere, suffers a disgraceful defeat: his soldiers are crushed by trees felled by peasants. The chronicler presents this as a punishment for sending an army “to destroy the land of Christ and His mother and the brothers inhabiting it”.<sup>41</sup> Fierce though she is when admonishing the

<sup>35</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 120: “Captivi autem, qui ligati ducebantur a fratribus, dixerunt, quod vidissent in actu bellandi unam pulcherrimam virginem vexillum fratrum in aere ducentem, de qua visione tam meticulosi facti fuerunt, et emarcuit cor eorum, quod nullus ad defensionem ponere se audebat”.

<sup>36</sup> Fischer, *Himmels rote*, p. 135.

<sup>37</sup> Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, p. 214.

<sup>38</sup> Marian Dygo, “The Political Role of the Cult of the Virgin Mary in Teutonic Prussia in the 14th and 15th Centuries”, *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 63-80 (here 64).

<sup>39</sup> Wigand von Marburg, SRP 2:512.

<sup>40</sup> Peter von Dusburg, pp. 59, 74, 95, 98, 116, 124, 141, 184, 189.

<sup>41</sup> Peter von Dusburg, Supplement, pp. 218-19.

Hungarians, the Virgin here does not go beyond her traditional role: punishment is sent by God, not herself, and Mary is only delivering a warning which offers a merciful opportunity for retreat.

Nicolaus von Jeroschin, the Teutonic Order chaplain who translated Dusburg's chronicle into German verse soon after 1330,<sup>42</sup> seems to have felt that the Virgin's role in this story was not clear enough. Jeroschin changes the original statement that God defends the Teutonic Order because the knights risk their lives "ut vindicent injuriam domini crucifixi" to read that God favours the order because it defends Christians "for love of the Virgin".<sup>43</sup> Even with this increased emphasis on Mary, in Jeroschin's version punishment of the Hungarians still comes from God and not the Virgin.

Therefore, Dusburg's earlier story of the Virgin actually in the battle line is most untypical. Perhaps its source really was, as Dusburg tells us, statements by the Prussian captives, who could have been trying to please their captors or excuse their own defeat by claiming supernatural intervention. Perhaps the pagans did believe they had seen the warrior Mary amongst the German banners which might have borne her likeness.<sup>44</sup> Old Prussians seem to have believed that the noble dead rode across the sky "in shining

<sup>42</sup> On Jeroschin, see Helm and Ziesemer, *Literatur*, pp. 151-61. In general, Jeroschin gives a greater role to the Virgin: cf. Fischer, *Himmels rote*, p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> Peter von Dusburg, Supplement, p. 219: "Quomodo ergo poterat dominus in paciencia et misericordia tolere, quod iste rex Ungarie gentem suam miserat ad destruendam terram Christi et matris sue et fratrum inibi habitancium, qui quotidie parati sunt exponere res et corpus, ut vindicent injuriam domini crucifixi". Cf. Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Kronike von Pruzinlant*, SRP 1:621: "Alsus rach unser herre got / an dem von Ungerem di nôt, / di er unbilich irbôt / sinre muter lande / da er sin volc hin sande / daz si iz gar vorterbeten / und darin enterbeten / di dutschen brüdre, di den mut han, / daz si lib unde gut / wagen in alien vristen / durch den beschirm der cristen / gegen den Littouwen / zu lobe der juncvrouwen".

<sup>44</sup> The order had a Marian banner, but the earliest mention of this is in Wigand of Marburg's chronicle, written in the late fourteenth century, in a description of events in 1311: SRP 2:454, cited by Dygo, "Political Role", p. 68; cf. Sven Ekdahl, *Die "Banderia Prutenorum" des Jan Dlugosz – eine Quelle zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410* (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 25-26.

armour”.<sup>45</sup> Still, Dusburg would not have included this story in his chronicle if it had not suited his own beliefs, although he is careful to record it as hearsay in contrast to other miracles. Orthodox and conservative in his theology, Dusburg may not have dared to attribute such a pugnacious Virgin to a vision seen by Teutonic Knights, but may have been happy enough to record how the pagans feared the order’s Lady.

Later chroniclers liked this theme and repeated it: there is a very similar story of Polish captives telling the Teutonic Knights they had seen the Virgin “suspended in the air” over the German host in the fifteenth-century *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik* which was much influenced by Jeroschin’s translation of Dusburg.<sup>46</sup> Still, Mary’s role is somewhat auxiliary: she is to aid the Teutonic army, without which the battle would not take place nor the enemy be defeated.

There was one attempt by a Baltic crusade chronicler to press the Virgin into more active service, and perhaps we should end with this most extreme example of the crusading world-view. Henry of Livonia, after recapitulating the traditional association of Livonia with Mary,<sup>47</sup> lists in his chronicle kings who had been struck down by Mary because they invaded Livonia, and exclaims,

Behold the Mother of God, how mild she is towards her own men, who faithfully serve her in Livonia, how she always defends them from all their enemies, and how cruel she is towards those

<sup>45</sup> In the Treaty of Christburg in 1249, Prussians promised not to believe pagan seers who “mendaciter asserunt, se videre presentem defunctum per medium celi volantem in equo, armis fulgentibus decoratum ...”: *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*, 1/1, no. 218 p. 161.

<sup>46</sup> *Ältere Hochmeisterchronik*, SRP 3:531, 679-80; similarity of incidents noted by Dygo, “Political Role”, p. 69 [slight error in citation].

<sup>47</sup> Livonia and the Virgin Mary: Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon*, pp. 17, 71, 132; *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 1, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge (Reval, 1853), nos. 15, 21; Peter Rebane, “The Papacy and the Christianization of Estonia”, in *Gli Inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia* (Città del Vaticano, 1989), pp. 171-201 (here 183) and Sven Ekdahl, “Die Rolle der Ritterorden bei der Christianisierung der Liven und Letten”, in *Gli Inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia*, pp. 203-243 (here 241-42).



who invade her land ... Take heed and behold, princes of the Russians or the pagans or the Danes, or the leaders of any nation whatsoever, fear ye the same so mild Mother of Mercy, adore the Mother of God, appease her, who is such a cruel wrecker of vengeance on her enemies; do not seek to invade her land.<sup>48</sup>

Here is the most bizarre manifestation of how the violent conditions of the frontier could affect the traditional view of women. The Virgin Mary is often so yielding and compassionate in medieval tales that she has mercy on unrepentant sinners and pagans, and in Dusburg's and Jeroschin's chronicles she helps pagans who appeal to her.<sup>49</sup> Yet for Henry of Livonia, she was a death-dealing avenger, a *crudelem vinditricem* to the Christian and pagan enemies of the Livonian Order. The modern editor's attempts to indicate a basis for this terminology in the Breviary are not convincing since in the breviaries Mary is *mitis* and the *mater misericordie* while it is God who is sometimes to be feared and takes vengeance.<sup>50</sup>

For the chroniclers of the military monastic orders conducting the Baltic crusade, women in heaven and on earth were not excused from participation in battle. By definition there could be no civilians, no bystanders in a war seen as an elemental struggle between God and demons. Women were physically weaker, but God or the Devil would give them strength to become virile at least in their own defence. Probably this partially reflects the reality of life

<sup>48</sup> Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon*, pp. 180-81: "Ecce Dei mater, quam mitis circa suos, qui fideliter ei deserviunt in Lyvonia, qualiter ipsa semper defendit eos a cunctis inimicis suis, quamque crudelis circa illos, qui terram ipsius invadere sive qui fidem et honorem filii sui in terra ipsa conatur impedire! ... Semper enim hactenus vexillum suum in Lyvonia et preeundo et subsequendo defendit ... principes Ruthenorum sive paganorum sive Danorum sive quarumcunque gencium seniores, ipsam tam mitem matrem misericordie timete, ipsam Dei matrem adorete, ipsam tam crudelem vindicatricem de inimicis suis placatam vobis reddite, terram ipsius deinceps impugnare nolite ...".

<sup>49</sup> Peter von Dusburg, p. 141; Jeroschin, pp. 503, 569.

<sup>50</sup> Notes by Bauer to Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon*, pp. 180, 181; Bauer, *Heinrich von Lettland*, p. 272.

in an area where the main form of warfare was the raiding party which sought to kill or capture everyone in its path. Women grew up in or moved as colonists to a war zone, and perhaps on some occasions they became warlike. On Christianity's northern frontier, at least in the world of its chroniclers, women had equal opportunity to be brave and brutal.

*Lithuanian Museum and Archives of Canada, Toronto*





# **The Crusades in Leeds University Library's Genealogical History Roll**

Oliver Pickering

The illustration on the front cover of the present volume shows Godfrey of Bouillon setting sail in 1096 “pour aller conquerre la saintte terre”. It is reproduced from a fifteenth-century French illuminated world history, specifically a genealogical history roll, which is now MS 100 in the Brotherton Collection of Leeds University Library. Because the manuscript has been little studied, and because of the intrinsic interest of the genre, this account of its treatment of the crusades begins with a physical description.<sup>1</sup>

## THE MANUSCRIPT

MS 100, which is kept on rollers in a modern glass-topped box, came to Leeds University Library in 1936 with the rest of Lord Brotherton's collection.<sup>2</sup> Its earlier history is unknown. It is some

<sup>1</sup> For a published description of the manuscript, see Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3: *Lampeter-Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 60-62.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds: Its Contents Described, with Illustrations of Fifty Books and Manuscripts* (Leeds, 1986), where the roundel depicting the death of Mordred at the hands of Arthur is

17.6 metres long, and is made up of thirty-nine membranes measuring approximately 630mm in width and an average 450mm in length, glued together to form a continuous surface (the membranes typically overlap by 2mm). The manuscript is illustrated with sixty-four illuminated roundels varying between 58 and 83mm in diameter, beginning with God's creation of the heavens and ending with Louis XI of France (1461-83). Other decoration comprises a broad floral border extending across the top of the roll and then for 620mm of its length on either side; a fine seven-line gold initial at the beginning of the text; numerous four-line gold initials on blue and red grounds at the start of text paragraphs, which are usually preceded by headings introduced by one-line initials; and on membranes 37-39 only, two-line initials introducing the annalistic entries that are a feature of the last part of the roll.

The text itself, which is set out in a varying number of columns representing different strands of world history, is wholly in French. It is written, possibly by more than one hand, in a consistent *batârde* script of rounded appearance, described by Ker as a "handsome set cursiva". Threading around and through the columns of text (from Adam's labours onwards) are continuous red lines linking "genealogically" a network of red circles in which are written the names of the biblical personages, rulers and popes who feature in the history, and linking these also, as appropriate, to the illuminated roundels in which the most important of them are depicted.

The text within the red circles is clearly by a different hand, and this evidence of division of labour makes it virtually certain that MS 100 was produced in a commercial workshop. A study of the membranes, especially the joins, shows that the successive stages of work may often have been as follows: (1) ruling the columns; (2) mapping out the genealogical network and the position of the roundels; (3) writing the main text; (4) illuminating the initials; (5)

reproduced as plate 1, accompanied by a facing-page summary of the subject-matter of the roll. Two other roundels are reproduced in John Alexander Symington, *The Brotherton Library: A Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Collected by Edward Allen, Baron Brotherton of Wakefield* (Leeds, 1931), p. 7.

cutting away the membrane immediately above the top line of text; (6) glueing the membrane on to the foot of the previous membrane; (7) attending to the join to ensure continuity, in particular by linking up the genealogical network; (8) entering the names into the red circles; (9) illuminating any roundels (both circles and roundels at times overlap the membranes).

It appears, however, that this sequence did not always hold – thus at membranes 11/12 the text, and at membranes 19/20 a gold initial, seem to overlap the join – and the fact of planning does not prevent there being frequent mistakes in the execution. For example, membrane 11 alone has an erroneous genealogical ruling, not properly corrected; evidence of genealogical circles originally planned for other positions; and, at the top, inappropriate double-column ruling for single-column text that spills over from membrane 10.<sup>3</sup> The physical joining of the membranes (including, it would seem, the nature of the glue) has in addition commonly led to a deterioration in the writing and painting surface at these points, resulting in smudging and discoloration (though the likelihood of later wear and tear along the joins should not be discounted). These signs of haste and lack of care are of a piece with the relatively poor quality of the membrane as a whole, which is frequently creased and discoloured, varies considerably in thickness, and has had at times to be repaired; and with the fact that the prick marks in the outer margins are very conspicuous throughout. Given also the relatively mediocre quality of the pictorial illustration, the roll may be said to fall short of the highest standards of workmanship.

MS 100 was made in France, as is confirmed by the eventually exclusive attention paid to fifteenth-century French history. For other areas of historical knowledge its compilers used exemplars whose accounts ended at different dates in the fourteenth century. The column devoted to popes ends (membrane 32, col. 1) with the

<sup>3</sup> Other prominent examples include membranes 18/19 where text has clearly been lost as a result of an inefficient join; membranes 28/29, where red genealogical lines conspicuously fail to match up; and membrane 32, where in col. 2 an erroneous four-line initial has been abandoned in favour of a correct one-line version, with resulting oddly-spaced text in an attempt to fill the too-great space available.

election of Urban VI in 1378 and the resulting schism in the church: “Cy ne parle plus des papes pour la diuision qui a este depuis en sainte eglise que dieu veulle amender Amen”. And that which had been recounting English history ends (membrane 35, col. 4) with the accession of Henry IV (1399), referring the reader to chronicles for details of his reign. The change in ink colour and switch to a single broad column very soon afterwards, from which point the history narrated is exclusively French, might suggest that at the end of the fourteenth century there was a change in compiling policy. But much earlier in the roll, when the incarnation of Christ inaugurates the sixth age of the world, there is a reference (membrane 17, col. 3) to how the narrative will tell of all the kings of France “qui ont regne et combien iusques en lan mil iiij<sup>c</sup> li”, i.e. up to 1451, from which it follows that membrane 17 was produced not earlier than that year.<sup>4</sup> When the abandonment of the history of the Holy Roman emperors on membrane 34 is also taken into account – again, it seems, because of the Great Schism (the election at Rome of “vng antipape”)<sup>5</sup> – it becomes clear that the eventual concentration on fifteenth-century France was a planned historiographical policy on the part of the roll’s compilers.

<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards, in the same section of the roll, there are similar anticipatory references to the history of popes up to Urban VI (“qui regna en lan mil iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> ou environ”, membrane 18, col. 1), and to that of English kings up to Richard II (“qui regna en lan mil iiij<sup>c</sup> iiij<sup>xx</sup> et xvj”, membrane 18, col. 4), dates which broadly agree with those which bring these narratives to an end on membranes 32 and 35. The heading at the very beginning of the roll sets a terminus of 1380 for both these histories, which again broadly agrees, but the account of the French kings is there said (presumably mistakenly) to continue only “iusques en lan mil iiij<sup>c</sup> li”: see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:60.

<sup>5</sup> However, the history here is garbled: “En lan mil iiij<sup>c</sup> xxxvij fut couronne empereur de romme louys de bauiere et lors les romains firent a romme vng antipape. Explicit. Cy finent les empereurs de romme” (membrane 34, col. 1). Ludwig IV (the Bavarian) was crowned emperor in 1328 (a date correctly given in both the initial heading on membrane 1 and the anticipation of the end of the line of emperors on membrane 18, col. 2), while the reference to an antipope looks like another reference to the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378.



It is highly probable, however, that the lighter ink and radical change in layout part way down membrane 35 indicate a break in copying and composition. Whereas the roll up to this point must have been produced (from the evidence just presented) in the early 1450s, the concluding four membranes can safely be attributed to a date soon after 1461: the final statement of all, before the roundel depicting Louis IX ends the roll, is "A present regne le roy louys ..." (membrane 39). Membrane 36 is dominated by a centred roundel depicting Charles VII of France, with, beneath, a scroll recording his death in 1461. Preceding the roundel, on membranes 35-36, is a detailed account of the reign of his father Charles VI (1380-1422). After the roundel, beginning at the top of membrane 37 and continuing until midway down membrane 39, the events of Charles VII's reign from 1422 to 1458 are recorded in a series of annalistic paragraphs, a form of historical writing not previously found in the roll.

But MS 100 should not be considered in isolation, because it is no more than a single representative of an established genre of French historical writing. Directly comparable manuscript rolls for which catalogue descriptions are readily available include MSS Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Fr.99, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 176,<sup>6</sup> the first of which has been compared with MS 100 for the purposes of the present essay.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For the former, see Moses Tyson, "Hand-List of the Collections of French and Italian Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1930", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 14 (1930), 563-624 (here 593), and Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:446-48. For the latter, see Montagu R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 381-83.

<sup>7</sup> Numerous genealogical history rolls exist also in Latin and Middle English, representing apparently separate textual traditions. See, for example, the discussion and references in Albinia de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P. R. Lyell* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 80-85 (when cataloguing Lyell MS 33), and the list of Middle English manuscripts in Barbara A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, 3: *Marston Manuscripts* (Binghamton, 1992), pp. 459-61 (when cataloguing Marston MS 242). Cf. also W. H. Monroe, "Two

Rylands Fr.99 is 17.2 metres in length and has sixty-six illuminated roundels. Its overall quality is less good than that of MS 100, and it has suffered greater wear and tear. The script is more sloping and less formal, and the illustrations are cruder, though not so conventional. The four-line initials are less rich, alternating between gold leaf on blue, and blue on red, while the floral border at the beginning runs, unusually, only down the left-hand side. However, the positioning of the roundels vis-à-vis the text is better organised, and the genealogical network is laid out in bolder fashion and more geometrically, although the lines linking the circles sometimes cut through paragraphs of text diagonally, which never happens in MS 100. The joining of the membranes is also less noticeable.

The text of the two rolls is extremely similar. There is greater divergence in the number and arrangement of the illustrations, as can be seen from the lists provided by Ker, who in each case plots the roundels against the similar sequence in Fitzwilliam 176, as listed by M. R. James.<sup>8</sup> Lack of space prevents further analytical comparison here, except in the matter of the planned and then actual termini of the two rolls' constituent narratives. The left-hand side of the heading to Rylands Fr.99 is torn away, affecting the text at a crucial point; there appears to be a reference to as late as 1457, but the extant wording is ambiguous. Firmer evidence comes from the announcements of narrative scope at the time of Christ's incarnation midway through the roll:<sup>9</sup> the dates given are 1380 for the popes, 1338 for the emperors, 1380 for the French kings, and 1396 for the English kings, of which dates the first and last are identical to those given in MS 100 at the same point. The date of greatest interest here is that of 1380 for the end of the French line, strongly suggesting that the original of the genealogical roll genre may not have continued past the end of the fourteenth century in any of its historical strands.

Medieval Genealogical Roll-Chronicles in the Bodleian Library", *Bodleian Library Record* 10 (1981), 215-21.

<sup>8</sup> See Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:60-62, 446-48, and James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 381-83.

<sup>9</sup> The membranes of Rylands Fr.99 are unnumbered.

The actual narratives of Rylands Fr.99 eventually conclude in 1378 (popes), 1338 (emperors) and – implicitly – 1399 (English kings), the wording of the first and third dates exactly agreeing with that of MS 100. Thereafter text continues in the third column alone, alongside centred roundels of Charles VI and then Charles VII. The accounts of their reigns are much shorter than in MS 100 – that describing Charles VI appears to break off in mid-sentence – although an annalistic method, here within a continuous paragraph, is again used in the case of Charles VII. From this accumulated evidence we can conclude that underlying both manuscripts is an exemplar which continued, for French history, to c. 1380 (the date of Charles VI's accession), following which the two rolls preserve different continuations.

The issue is, however, complicated further by references in both MS 100 and Rylands Fr.99 directing the reader to “laultre roolle” for certain narrative information. These references occur at the point of transition between the Old and New Testament eras. In MS 100, membrane 18, col. 1, we find “Cy ... sensuit lordre sainte eglise de pretrise que nostre seigneur ihesucrist ordonna au viel testament et du nouuel et le trouueres en laultre roolle ...”, and directly opposite in col. 4, “Cy fine des bretons ... et trouueres le demeurent en laultre roolle qui commance depuis ihesucrist ...”. Shortly beforehand, close to the foot of membrane 17, col. 3, there is a very similar reference: “Cy fine des consuls de romme et trouueres apres ou roolle du nouuel testament des empereurs”.<sup>10</sup> This is strong evidence that the rolls under discussion here derive from exemplars that were originally separate artefacts, one containing history of the Old Testament era, the other of the New.<sup>11</sup> Confirmation of such a state of affairs is indeed provided by the survival of other fifteenth-century French rolls, textually similar but treating only the Christian era and with a quite different scheme of illustration. Good examples are MSS Manchester, John Rylands

<sup>10</sup> The scribe of MS 100 habitually ends rubrics and headings with the word “etc”, as he does here. In this essay I have omitted “etc” from my transcriptions.

<sup>11</sup> A similar point, using the same evidence, is made by Tyson, “Hand-List of the Collections”, p. 593.

University Library, Fr.54, and New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Marston 180, although these cannot represent New Testament rolls of quite the same kind as those underlying the combined histories, as both extend into the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

### DEPICTION OF THE CRUSADES

It would be inappropriate to present here any detailed synopsis of the contents and arrangement of MS 100 as a whole. The manuscript's heading, of which a little has already been quoted, brings out well the scope and purpose of the history as seen by its compiler:

Cy sensuit la genealogie de la bible qui monstre et dit combien chascun aage a dure depuis le commencement du monde iusques a laduenement ihesu crist et comprent en brief comment les troys fils noe peuplerent tout le monde apres le deluge et comment ils nommerent les terres et pais ou ils habitoient de leurs noms et comment les troyens descendirent de la lignee iaphet et puis monstre par signes comment quatre manieres de gens se partirent de troye la grant apres la destruction dicelle lesquelx habiterent et peuplerent pais et terres et les nommerent de leurs noms et fonderent plusieurs cites villes et chasteaulx par espicial romme paris londres cestadire peuplerent romaine lombardie france et angleterre et en quel temps et comment et combien ils ont regne lun apres laultre

<sup>12</sup> For the former manuscript see Tyson, "Hand-List of the Collections", pp. 580-81, and Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3:434-35. For the latter, see Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 3:336-38 (and the references given there). Marston 180 is also briefly described, and illustrated, in Barbara A. Shailor, *The Medieval Book Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Toronto, 1991), pp. 92, 94-95. In both cases the initial rubrics cite Alexander V (1409-10) as the last pope to be treated.

iusques au temps et aduenement nostre seigneur  
ihesu crist sicomme il appert par lenseigne des  
branches des genealogies et apres trouueres ou  
nouel testament des papes qui ont este a romme  
depuis saint pierre iusques en lan mil iii<sup>c</sup> iii<sup>xx</sup> et  
des empereurs de romme iusques en lan mil iii<sup>c</sup>  
xxviii et des roys de france iusques en lan mil iii<sup>c</sup>  
li et des roys dangleterre iusques en lan [mil] iii<sup>c</sup>  
iiii<sup>xx</sup> et si trouueres des roys crestiens qui ont este  
en iherusalem puis godefroy de billon

To this medieval historian, then, the western world is a result of the Trojan War dispersing across Europe the peoples who descended from Japhet, and who came to form the four quasi-national lines of descent into which the later part of the roll is organised. For the purposes of broad analysis of content the following divisions of the history may be distinguished:

1. Membranes 1-6 (in 2 cols). Old Testament history as far as Abraham (col. 1) and the descendants of Noah (col. 2). Illustrated by roundels 1-14.<sup>13</sup>

2. Membranes 6-10 (predominantly in 2 cols). Old Testament history as far as King David, together with the story of Troy ending with its destruction. Roundels 14-16, 17a-d, 18.

3. Membranes 10-16 (predominantly in 4 cols but sometimes in 5). The remainder of Old Testament history (including that of the Near East, Alexander the Great, etc.), and the beginnings of Western European history (including that of Rome, Gaul and Britain). Roundels 19-30.

4. Membranes 16-18/19 (in 4 cols). The transition between the Old and New Testament eras. Col. 1, the life of Christ; col. 2, near Eastern history to the death of Herod; col. 3, Roman history, together with the Fifteen Signs before the Judgement; col. 4, British history. Roundels 31-32.

5. Membranes 18/19-35 (predominantly in 4 cols). Western history down to the late fourteenth century. Col. 1, Popes; col. 2, the

<sup>13</sup> The sixty-four roundels are numbered 1-16, 17a-d, 18-61 in modern pencil. They are listed with these numbers in Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 3:60-62.

Roman empire / Holy Roman emperors; col. 3, Frankish / French history; col. 4, British / English history, interrupted (membranes 28-33) by the history of the crusades and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Roundels 33-59.

6. Membranes 35-39 (1 broad column). Continuation of French history as far as the 1460s. Roundels 60-61.

For most of the roll the different columns do not keep in step with each other chronologically, so that on membrane 27 (for example) the history of the popes has reached the sixth century and Roman history no more than the 360s, while col. 3 records the crowning of Louis the Debonair in 815 and col. 4 the story of King Harold II of England.<sup>14</sup> And on membrane 30, at which point the accession of Charlemagne to the imperial throne leads in col. 2 to a recapitulation of a Frankish line of descent that had already been given much earlier in col. 3, the events of the 800s (col. 2) coincide with the papacy of Innocent III (1198-1216, col. 1), the crowning of St Louis as king of France in 1227 (col. 3) and the installation of Godfrey of Bouillon as “king” of Jerusalem in 1099 (col. 4).

The heavily-abbreviated history of the “roys crestiens de iherusalem” begins on membrane 28 with the heading “Comment godeffroy de billon pour aller conquerre la saintte terre passa outremer”. The illustration that follows is a stock picture of knights crowded into a ship (the roundels that earlier showed Aeneas and others escaping from Troy are very similar), and Rylands MS Fr.99 more accurately depicts Godfrey departing for the crusade on horseback.<sup>15</sup> The illustration in question (roundel 50) is linked to the genealogical network (see below), and is followed by a paragraph of text introduced, as usual, by a four-line illuminated initial. The analysis of the roll’s crusading history that now follows is divided according to its own paragraph divisions. It may be noted that its account ends with the failure of the Fifth Crusade in 1221.

<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the ‘genealogical’ lines (which are used to record any succession of persons, e.g. popes, and not simply family descent) are frequently well in advance of the narrative text.

<sup>15</sup> However, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 176 agrees with MS 100 in showing the company setting sail; see James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 383.

1. *The journey to Constantinople* (membranes 28-29). Heading and illustration as noted above. *Genealogy*: three circles to the left of the roundel read, respectively, "Baudoin de billon frere godefroy de billon", "Baudouin de borc cousin godefroy", "Eustace frere godefroy de billon". A line descends from the roundel down the left-hand side of the text. *Narrative*: On 8 March 1096 [*sic*] Godfrey, his brothers Baldwin and Eustace and many other noble companions<sup>16</sup> set out for Constantinople where, it is said, "l'empereur leur fit dambuches couuertement mais nos gens les desconfirent et sceurent la verite", after which the emperor gave them presents and promised to assist them with provisions and men. The barons paid homage to him.

2. *The conquest of Nicaea and Edessa* (membrane 29). *Heading*: "Comment baudouin de billon conquist la duchie de rohais". *Genealogy*: The left-hand line continues, a branching circle opposite the heading reading "Baudoin de billon duc de rohais". *Narrative*: Godfrey and his companions "passerent les bras s. george" and travelled to "niques" [Nicaea] which they took by force. Tancred conquered "tharce" [Tarsus] but Baldwin took it from him. The inhabitants of "rohais" [Edessa] surrendered to Baldwin and made him duke, because their own duke was very bad to them. Baldwin conquered all the fortresses of that country and became lord over them.

<sup>16</sup> Eustace is here called "Huitasse". The others named are: "Baudouin de bourc" [Baldwin of Bourcq]; "Hue le mainsne frere du roy de france" [Hugh, count of Vermandois]; "Robert conte de flandres" [Robert II, count of Flanders]; "Robert duc de normendie" [Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy]; "Estienne conte de chartres et de blays" [Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres]; "Raymond conte de tholose" [Raymond IV, count of Toulouse]; "Guerin conte de gres" [Warner, count of Grez]; "Baudouin conte de henault" [Baldwin II, count of Hainaut]; "Ysacar conte de die" [Isoard, count of Die]; "Rambault conte dorenge" [Rambault, count of Orange]; "Guillaume conte de fores" [William, count of Forez]; "Estienne conte daubemarle" [Stephen, count of Aumale]; "Retrou conte du perche" [Rotrou II, son of Geoffrey, count of Perche]; "Hue conte de saint pol" [Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol]; "Girart de rossillon" [Gerard of Roussillon]; Peter the Hermit; and (as one who increased the numbers "oultre les mons") "Beymont le prince de tarente" [Bohemond of Taranto].

3. *The conquest of Antioch* (membranes 29-30). No heading.<sup>17</sup>  
*Genealogy*: Two circles branch off from the descending line: “Beymont prince de tarente fut prince dantioche”, “Constance femme beymont”. *Narrative*: Godfrey and his company killed the inhabitants of the rich city of “maresse” [Marash] and then besieged Antioch, a powerful stronghold which was well supplied. After a month [*sic*] the city was betrayed by a Christian inhabitant who handed over a fortified tower to “beymont” [Bohemond]. The city was then “nettoyee de la gent mescreante”. The crusaders found the spear that had pierced Christ’s side, and with its help defeated the besieging armies of “le soudan de perse et gourbadas dallixandrie”,<sup>18</sup> winning a great victory against overwhelming odds. Bohemond was made lord of Antioch. He conquered four other cities, Tarsus, “ardene” [Adana], “mamistre” [Mamistra] and “namazia”, and filled them with his own people. He ruled well over all the country.

4. *The conquest of Jerusalem* (membrane 30). *Heading*: “Comment godeffroy de billon duc conquist iherusalem et en fut fait roy”. *Illustration*: roundel 52, showing Godfrey enthroned.<sup>19</sup> There is no new genealogical information, but the descending line meets the roundel and then continues. *Narrative*: On 12 June 1097 [*sic*] Godfrey began to besiege Jerusalem with a force of 20,000 against 40,000 inhabitants. The crusaders built siege engines on all sides and attacked for many days, and they did not always keep their engines in the same place, which greatly troubled the Turks. The holy city – which was between two mountains, and lacked meadows, rivers and fountains – was attacked by the Christians with such force that it eventually fell. Godfrey was the first to enter, with his brother Eustace, and they were followed by the duke of Normandy, Raymond count of Toulouse and all the other barons. They put to the sword all those who refused to become Christians

<sup>17</sup> Unlike Rylands MS Fr.99, where there is a heading stating that Godfrey conquered Antioch.

<sup>18</sup> “Gourbadas dallixandrie” is no doubt the warrior Kerbogha, ruler of Mosul. “Le soudan de perse” may be the Seljuk sultan, Berkyaruk.

<sup>19</sup> Again, this is a stock picture, similar to others in the roll.



and then visited the holy places. Godfrey was made king.<sup>20</sup> Jerusalem fell at noon on Friday 15 July 1098 [*sic*], when Urban II was pope, Henry IV was Holy Roman emperor, Philip I was king of France and Alexios was emperor of Constantinople. Godfrey governed well and died in 1100. He was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre beneath the mount of Calvary.

5. *Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem* (membranes 30-31). *Heading*: "Comment baudouin de billon fut fait roy de iherusalem apres son frere godeffroy de billon". *Genealogy*: The descending line meets a circle reading "Baudoin de billon qui fut roy", and descends further. Three other circles branch off it: "Baudoin de bourc qui fut fait duc de rohais", "La contesse de felice [*sic*]<sup>21</sup> femme baudoin", "La contesse de cecille concubine baudoin".<sup>22</sup> *Narrative*: Baldwin was crowned three months after Godfrey's death. He worked hard to enlarge the kingdom, conquering "arsur" [Arsuf] and "cesare" [Caesarea], where he created an archbishop. He conquered "rames" [Ramla], and "desconfit le sires de la halappe" [Aleppo]. Next he engaged "la galaffre degipte"<sup>23</sup> qui amena tant de turcs que tout le pais en estoit couuert", but the Christians defeated them and then took Tripoli, in 1109. Next year they took "barich" [Beirut] and "sagette" [Sidon]. Baldwin died [in 1118] and was buried alongside Godfrey.

6. *Baldwin II (of Bourcq), king of Jerusalem* (membrane 31). *Heading*: "Comment baudouin de bourc cousin du dit baudouin fut couronne roy de iherusalem". *Genealogy*: The descending line meets a circle reading "Baudoin de bourc fut fait roy apres baudoin", and then continues. Five other lines descend from the same circle, two on the left leading to circles reading "Mellisant" and "Thodoree", and three on the right leading to circles reading

<sup>20</sup> On the use of the title "king", see Alan V. Murray, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon as Ruler of Jerusalem", *Collegium Medievale* 3 (1990), 163-78.

<sup>21</sup> Presumably a scribal mistake for "celice", i.e. Cilicia. Cf. the repeatedly erroneous "friques" for "fuques" (i.e. Fulk) below.

<sup>22</sup> Adelaide, widow of Roger I of Sicily, whom Baldwin married as his third wife (in 1113). It is unusual to find her described as "concubine".

<sup>23</sup> Probably a reference to the (Fatimid) caliph of Egypt.

“Beymont le ieuene prince dantioche”, “Josselin de courtenay fut duc de rohais”, and “Femme beymond fille baudoin”. *Narrative*: Baldwin of Bourcq was made king and soon won a great victory over the Turks, gaining huge spoils. In 1119 he went to Antioch to help defend the country of Edessa, which was being attacked by the “prince dalappe” [Aleppo] who had killed “beymont” [*sic*] prince of Antioch,<sup>24</sup> and which was in great danger; but everyone fled when Baldwin arrived, and he subsequently strengthened the country’s defences. He died on 21 August 1131 after a reign of thirteen years.

7. *Fulk of Anjou, Baldwin III and Amalric I, kings of Jerusalem* (membranes 31-32; at this point col. 4 of the roll divides into two, the left-hand side being occupied by the present paragraph and then by paragraph 9; for the right-hand side see paragraph 8). *Heading*: “Comment fricques comte daniou fut couronne roy de iherusalem”. *Genealogy*: The descending line meets a circle reading “Fricques conte daniou”; descends to another reading “Baudoin iij<sup>e</sup> de ce nom” (alongside which is a circle reading “Theodore femme baudoin”); and then to a third reading “Almaury”,<sup>25</sup> from which branch three others reading “Agnes”, “Sibille” and “Marie”. *Narrative*: “Friques” [*sic*, i.e. Fulk] was made king in 1131 because of his wife, the daughter of Baldwin. In his time the Christians had great trouble. He was killed by falling from his horse while hunting near “atressi”, to general sorrow. He had two sons, firstly Baldwin, who became king after him at the age of thirteen [in 1143] and governed badly. This Baldwin was in great danger of losing all his kingdom, because a Turk called “sanguin” [Zengi] conquered all of Edessa. Then his brother “amanti” [Amalric] became king, in 1163. He had a great desire to increase the faith, “et plus perdit quil ne gaigna quar il desconfit le president degipte”, gaining victory in the battle. Then “il desconfit salhardin [Saladin] en la terre de dydumee [Idumea?]”, and scarcely stayed in one place until he died in July 1175 [*sic*], on the octave of the feast of St Martin.

<sup>24</sup> It was in fact Roger, regent of Antioch, who was killed in 1119. The “prince dalappe” is Ilghazi, the ruler of Mardin.

<sup>25</sup> i.e. Amalric I, referred to in the narrative by another corrupt form of name, “amanti”.

8. *Richard I of England* (membranes 31-32, occupying the right-hand side of col. 4 following the column division noted in the previous paragraph; the present paragraph is inserted here at what is its most appropriate chronological point). *Heading*: “Cy parle du roy richard dangleterre que le duc dosteriche tint en prison par moult long temps”. *Narrative*: King Richard, “fort homme et bon cheuallier”, travelled to the Holy Land [in 1191] and won back almost all that the Christians had lost, “sans la vraye croix”.<sup>26</sup> After he had taken “accres” [Acre] he returned [in 1192], but he was captured by the duke of Austria, gaining his release only after payment of 60,000 “liures”.<sup>27</sup>

9. *The loss of Jerusalem* (membranes 32-33; the present paragraph directly follows paragraph 7 on the left-hand side of col. 4; see above). *Heading*: “Cy dit par qui la sainte terre de iherusalem fut perdue”. *Genealogy*: The line descending from “Almaury” meets in turn four successive circles reading “Baudoin le meseau”, “Baudouin lenfant”, “Guy de lesignen fut fait roy”, and “Le conte iehan de bresne fut couronne a cause de sa femme”. At this point the line ends. *Narrative*: Amalric’s son Baldwin the Leper [Baldwin IV] now became king [in 1174]. He governed well<sup>28</sup> but was greatly stricken by leprosy, so that he gave his sister in marriage to “vng cheuallier de poictou messire guy de lesignen” to help look after her young son [Baldwin V] who became king after him at the age of five [in 1185].<sup>29</sup> Guy de Lusignan next became king, who lost the Holy City [in 1187] and the surrounding cities. He did not reign long [1186-92], and after him reigned “le conte iehan de bresne” [John of Brienne, 1210-25] who would have regained

<sup>26</sup> A reference to the relic of the True Cross, discovered in Jerusalem in 1099, and lost for ever at the battle of Hattin in 1187. See Alan V. Murray, “‘Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ’: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem”, in *The Crusades and their Sources*, ed. John France (forthcoming).

<sup>27</sup> Other events of Richard’s reign follow. This right-hand part of col. 4 in effect returns to English history, and the account of Richard’s crusading exploits is, in comparison with other parts of the history of the Latin kingdom, very brief.

<sup>28</sup> See the essay by Bernard Hamilton in the present volume.

<sup>29</sup> Baldwin V was the son of Baldwin IV’s sister Sibylla and her first husband, William of Montferrat.

Jerusalem had it not been for the papal legate,<sup>30</sup> the Templars and Hospitallers “qui ne vouldrent tenir laccord” which King John had made with the sultan of Babylon [i.e. Egypt]. “Par ainsi tout fut perdu et la crestiente occise” [i.e. in 1221]. *Rubric*: “Cy fine des roys crestiens de iherusalem”.

The scope of this essay does not allow for comparison with the French literary sources that must undoubtedly underlie this narrative history of the crusader states. But it can be said here that MS 100 appears to transmit a relatively accurate reflection of what happened, for all its abridgements, generalisations and textual corruptions. It is worth remarking that the narrative is explicitly conceived as a history of the kingdom of Jerusalem rather than of the crusading movement. There is no mention at all of the Second or Fourth Crusades; the Third Crusade is represented only by the few lines allotted to Richard Coeur de Lion; and the Fifth Crusade is scarcely more than implied in the short account of the failure to regain Jerusalem in 1221. This characteristic is, however, hardly likely to be a feature special to MS 100. It is clear both from the manuscript evidence and from the nature of the narrative that we are dealing here with a standard historical genre, well-developed in the fifteenth-century *ateliers* where this and numerous similar rolls were no doubt produced, and uncontroversially popular with the wealthy patrons whose homes they would have adorned.

*Leeds University Library*

<sup>30</sup> i.e. Cardinal Pelagius.

# **Bibliography of the First Crusade**

compiled by  
Alan V. Murray

This is a classified bibliography which is intended to cover the main sources, events, personalities and themes of the First Crusade, as well as providing some basic reading on its ideological and political background. It does not claim to be exhaustive, but concentrates on work published since the Second World War, while also including some of the most important and/or accessible works of the foregoing period. For a more detailed treatment of crusading bibliography for the nineteenth and the earlier part of the twentieth century, the reader is referred to the works by Hans Eberhard Mayer (section 1.1 below).

An outline of the bibliography is given on the following pages. In the sections on sources and commentary, editions and translations are grouped together first, and followed by secondary works. For technical reasons, the format of citations in the bibliography is slightly different from that employed in the notes to the rest of this volume; however, the bibliography provides rather more detailed information on each item. Frequently cited collective works such as *Festschriften*, collected essays and conference papers are normally given in abbreviated form; full publication details of such works are given at section 1.2. Where relevant, cross-references are given at the end of sections. For reasons of space, it has not been possible to include collections of documents, cartularies or literary texts such as the *Chanson d'Antioche*.

Similarly, the bibliography does not include articles in reference works such as the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* and the *Dictionary of Byzantium*, and in volumes of reprints such as those published by Variorum (Aldershot). Abbreviations used in the bibliography are the same as those used in the rest of this volume.

For articles published between 1979 and 1995, I have been able to make extensive use of the *International Medieval Bibliography*, and am thus indebted to my predecessors as editors as well as to the many contributors who originally supplied this material. I am also grateful to Dr Romy Günthart (University of Göttingen), who checked many references to works that were not available to me in Leeds, to Dr Susan Edgington and Peter Van Windekens for providing additional information, and to Prof. Hans Eberhard Mayer for corrections and helpful suggestions.

\*  
\* \*

## OUTLINE OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. GENERAL WORKS

- 1.1. Bibliography
- 1.2. The Crusades in General (including frequently cited works)
- 1.3. The First Crusade in General

### 2. SOURCES AND COMMENTARY

- 2.1. Western Sources
  1. General - 2. Albert of Aachen - 3. Baldric of Dol - 4. Chronicle of Zimmern - 5. Ekkehard of Aura - 6. Fulcher of Chartres - 7. *Gesta Francorum* - 8. Guibert of Nogent - 9. Orderic Vitalis - 10. Peter Tudebode - 11. Radulph of Caen - 12. Raymond of Aguilers - 13. Robert the Monk - 14. William of Malmesbury - 15. William of Tyre - 16. Other Sources - 17. Documents
- 2.2. Greek Sources
  1. Anna Komnene - 2. John Zonaras
- 2.3. Hebrew Sources
- 2.4. Armenian Sources
- 2.5. Syriac Sources
  1. General - 2. Anonymous Syriac Chronicle - 3. Bar Hebraeus - 4. Michael the Syrian
- 2.6. Arabic Sources
  1. General - 2. Ibn al-Athir - 3. Ibn al-Qalanisi - 4. Kamal al-Din

3. ORIGINS OF THE CRUSADE

3.1. The Middle East

1. General - 2. Armenia - 3. Byzantium - 4. Fatimids - 5. Seljuks

3.2. Crusading Ideology

1. General - 2. Holy War - 3. Pilgrimage - Jerusalem - 5. Attitudes to Islam

3.3. Urban II and the Council of Clermont

4. COMPOSITION OF THE CRUSADE

4.1. Motivation

4.2. Recruitment and Participation

4.3. Individual Leaders

1. Adhemar of Le Puy - 2. Baldwin of Boulogne - 3. Bohemond - 4. Eustace of Boulogne - 5. Godfrey of Bouillon - 6. Hugh of Vermandois - 7. Peter the Hermit - 8. Raymond of Saint-Gilles - 9. Robert of Flanders - 10. Robert of Normandy - 11. Stephen of Blois - 12. Tancred

5. THE COURSE OF THE CRUSADE

5.1. The People's Expeditions

5.2. Stages of the Crusade

5.3. The Crusade and the Jews

5.4. The Crusade and Byzantium

5.5. Individual Aspects

1. Military Aspects - 2. The Holy Lance - 3. The Poor - 4. Death and Martyrdom - 5. Religious and Social Aspects

5.6. The Latin Settlements

5.7. The Crusade of 1101

## 1. GENERAL WORKS

### 1.1. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ATIYA, Aziz S., *The Crusade: Historiography and Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962).
- International Medieval Bibliography*, ed. Robert S. HOYT, Peter H. SAWYER et al. (Leeds: International Medieval Bibliography, 1967-).
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hannover: Hahn, 1960).
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, "Literaturbericht über die Geschichte der Kreuzzüge", *Historische Zeitschrift Sonderheft 3* (1969), 641-731.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard; McLELLAN, Joyce, "Select bibliography of the crusades", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 6: 511-664.

### 1.2. THE CRUSADES IN GENERAL (including frequently cited works)

- Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan RILEY-SMITH (London: Times Books, 1991).
- Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel BALARD, *Byzantina Sorboniensia*, 14 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996).
- CAHEN, Claude, *Orient et Occident aux temps des croisades* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1983).
- La Croisade - Réalités et fictions. Actes du Colloque d'Amiens 18-22 mars 1987*, ed. Danielle BUSCHINGER, *Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik*, 503 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989).
- Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. EDBURY (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985).
- Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya SHATZMILLER, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1993).
- The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. PAETOW (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928).
- The Crusades and Their Sources*, ed. John FRANCE (Aldershot: Variorum, forthcoming).
- Les Epopées de la Croisade. Premier colloque international (Trèves, 6-11 août 1984)*, ed. Karl-Heinz BENDER and Hermann KLEBER, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, Beiheft 11, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987).
- ERP, Antonius Hendrikus van, *Gesta Francorum, gesta Dei? Motivering en rechtvaardiging van de eerste kruistochten door tijdgenoten en moslimse reactie* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1982).



- Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen: Die Verfolgung von Juden im Rheinland*, Schriften des Archivs der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, 9 (Düsseldorf: Archiv der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland, 1996).
- The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan P. PHILLIPS (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
- From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. Alan V. MURRAY, International Medieval Research, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).
- Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard LEWIS and P. M. HOLT (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. SETTON et al., 6 vols, 2nd edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969-89).
- The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. KEDAR (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Variorium, 1992).
- Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες: Οι Ανακοινώσεις του Διεθνούς Συμποσίου "Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες"*, Λευκωσία, 6-9 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994 / *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers Given at the International Conference "Cyprus and the Crusades"*, Nicosia, 6-9 September, 1994, ed. Nicholas COUREAS and Jonathan RILEY-SMITH (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995).
- The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West During the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. GOSS, Studies in Medieval Culture, 21 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986).
- "Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII: Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989*, Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 13; Scienze storiche, 48 (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1992).
- Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. KEDAR, Hans Eberhard MAYER and R. C. SMAIL (Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982).
- Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan RILEY-SMITH (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 8th edn, Urban-Taschenbücher, 86 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995).
- MÖHRING, Hans, "Kreuzzug und Dschihad in der mediaevistischen und orientalischen Forschung 1965-1985", *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 10-11 (1988), 361-86 [survey of research].
- Piacenza e la prima crociata*, ed. Pierre RACINE (Piacenza: Diabasis, 1995).
- RICHARD, Jean, *Histoire des croisades* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "History, the crusades and the Latin East, 1095-1204: A personal view", in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, pp. 1-17 [survey of research].

- RUNCIMAN, Steven, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-54).
- War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries*, ed. Yaacov LEV, *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

### 1.3. THE FIRST CRUSADE IN GENERAL

- ARMANSKI, Gerhard, *Es begann in Clermont: Der erste Kreuzzug und die Genese der Gewalt in Europa*, *Geschichte der Gewalt in Europa*, 1 (Paffenhöfer: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995).
- BRANDT, Coenraad D. J., *Kruisvaarders naar Jeruzalem: Geschiedenis van de eerste kruistocht* (Utrecht: W. de Haan, 1950).
- CAHEN, Claude, "An introduction to the First Crusade", *Past and Present* 6 (1954), 6-29.
- CHALANDON, Ferdinand, *Histoire de la première croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon* (Paris: Picard, 1925).
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., *The First Crusade*, *New Appreciations in History*, 37 (London: Historical Association, 1996).
- FLORI, Jean, "L'idea di crociata", in *Piacenza e la prima crociata*, pp. 15-33.
- FLORI, Jean, *La Première Croisade: L'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1992).
- FRANCE, John, "Les origines de la Première Croisade: un nouvel examen", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 43-56.
- FRANCE, John, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) [despite title, a detailed general history of the expedition].
- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich, "Chronologie de la première croisade 1094-1100", *ROL* 6 (1898), 214-93, 490-549, 7 (1899), 275-399, 430-503, 8 (1900-1), 318-82.
- HEERS, Jacques, "Le implicazioni economiche della prima crociata", in *Piacenza e la prima crociata*, pp. 103-24.
- HEERS, Jacques, *Libérer Jérusalem: La Première Croisade, 1095-1107* (Paris: Perrin, 1995).
- HIESTAND, Rudolf, "Der Erste Kreuzzug in der Welt des ausgehenden 11. Jahrhunderts", in *Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen*, pp. 1-36.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone Press, 1986).
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- RÖHRICHT, Reinhold, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901).
- ROUSSET, Paul, *Les origines et les caractères de la Première Croisade* (Neuchâtel: Ed. de la Baconnière, 1945).

- WARD, John O., "Disaster and disaster-response in a medieval context: The First Crusade", in *Disasters: Image and Context*, ed. Peter HINTON, Sydney Studies in Society and Culture, 7 (Sydney: Sydney Association for Studies in Culture, 1992), pp. 105-40.

## 2. SOURCES AND COMMENTARY

### 2.1. WESTERN SOURCES

#### 2.1.1. GENERAL

- Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. Elizabeth HALLAM (London: Weidenfeld, 1989) [contains numerous translated extracts from sources].
- The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Material*, trans. Edward PETERS (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971).
- BOEHM, Laetitia, "Gesta Dei per Francos - oder Gesta Francorum: Die Kreuzzüge als historiographisches Problem", *Saeculum* 8 (1957), 43-81.
- FRANCE, John, "The *Anonymous Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode", in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, forthcoming.
- LUCHITSKAYA [given as LOUCHITSKAJA], Svetlana, "*Barbarae nationes: les peuples musulmans dans les chroniques de la Première Croisade*", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 99-107.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "Coroscane: Homeland of the Saracens in the Chansons de geste and the historiography of the crusades", in *Aspects de l'épopée romane: Mentalités - idéologies - intertextualités*, ed. Hans van DIJK and Willem NOOMEN (Groningen: Forsten, 1995), pp. 177-84.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "Ethnic identity in the Crusader States: The Frankish race and the settlement of Outremer", in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon FORDE, Lesley JOHNSON and Alan V. MURRAY (Leeds: Leeds Studies in English, 1995), pp. 59-73.
- POWELL, James M., "Myth, legend, propaganda, history: The First Crusade, 1140 - ca. 1300", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 127-41.
- ZABOROV, M. A., *Введение в историографию крестовых походов (латинская хронография XI-XIII веков)* (Moskva: Nauka, 1966).

#### 2.1.2. ALBERT OF AACHEN

- Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Occ. 4: 265-713.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen: A critical edition" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1991) [to be published in the series Oxford Medieval Texts].
- Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, trans. Herman HEFELE, *Das Alte Reich*, 2 vols (Jena: Eugen Diederich, 1923).
- BEAUMONT, André Alden, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, pp. 101-38.

- CAHEN, Claude, "A propos d'Albert d'Aix et de Richard le Pèlerin", *Le Moyen Age* 96 (1990), 31-33.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "Albert of Aachen and the chansons de geste", in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, forthcoming.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "Albert of Aachen reappraised", in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 55-67.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "The First Crusade: Reviewing the evidence", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 57-77.
- KNOCH, Peter, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen: Der 1. Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik*, Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik, 1 (Stuttgart: Klett, 1966).
- MINIS, Cola, "Stilelemente in der Kreuzzugschronik des Albert von Aachen und in der volkssprachigen Epik, besonders in der Chanson de Roland", in *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift K. Langosch*, ed. Alf ÖNNERFORS, Johannes RATHOFER and Fritz WAGNER (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), 356-63.
- MORRIS, Colin, "The aims and spirituality of the crusade as seen through the eyes of Albert of Aix", *Reading Medieval Studies* 16 (1990), 99-117.
- MULINDER, Alec, "Albert of Aachen and the crusade of 1101", in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 69-77.
- NASS, Klaus, "Wolfenbütteler Funde", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49 (1993), 165-69 [a newly discovered fragment].  
See also Faber (5.3), Edgington 1994a (2.1.2) 1994b (5.5.4)

### 2.1.3. BALDRIC OF DOL

- Baldrici episcopi Dolensis Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ. 4: 1-111.
- GRILLO, Peter, "Vers une édition du texte français de l'*Historia Jerosolimitana* de Baudri de Dol", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 9-16.
- PETIT, Aimé, "Le camp chrétien devant Antioche dans le RPCBB", *Romania* 108 (1987), 503-19.

### 2.1.4. CHRONICLE OF ZIMMERN

- Die Zimmerische Chronik*, ed. Karl August BARACK, 4 vols (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1869; 2nd edn Freiburg im Breisgau: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung Mohr, 1881-82).
- Die Chronik der Grafen von Zimmern: Handschriften 580 und 581 der Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek Donaueschingen*, ed. Hansmartin DECKER-HAUFF et al., 7 vols (Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1964-)
- BAUMGART, Hans, "Studien zur Zimmerschen Chronik des Grafen Froben Christoph und zur Mainzer Bistumschronik des Grafen Wilhelm Werner von Zimmern" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Freiburg, 1923).

- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich [given as Henri], "Etude sur la Chronique de Zimmern: Renseignements qu'elle fournit sur la première croisade", *AOL* 2 (1884), 20-36.
- JENNY, Beat Rudolf, *Graf Froben Christoph von Zimmern: Geschichtsschreiber, Erzähler, Landesherr. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Schwaben* (Konstanz: Thorbecke, 1959).
- MURRAY, Alan V., "The Chronicle of Zimmern as a source for the First Crusade: The evidence of Ms. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 580", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 78-106.  
 See also Murray 1992 (4.2)

#### 2.1.5. EKKEHARD OF AURA

- Ekkehardi abbatis Uraugiensis Hierosolymita*, RHC Occ. 5: 1-40.  
*Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik [Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum]*, ed. and trans. Franz-Josef SCHMALE and Irene SCHMALE-OTT (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972).
- SCHMALE, Franz-Josef, "Überlieferungskritik und Editionsprinzipien der Chronik Ekkehards von Aura", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 27 (1971), 110-34

#### 2.1.6. FULCHER OF CHARTRES

- Fulcher of Chartres: Chronicle of the First Crusade*, trans. Martha E. MCGINTY, Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, ser. 3, 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941).
- Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127)*, ed. Heinrich HAGENMEYER (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913).
- Historia Iherosolymitana ... auctore domno Fulcheri Carnotensi*, RHC Occ. 3: 311-485.
- A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, tr. Frances S. RYAN, ed. Harold S. FINK (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1960).
- EPP, Verena, *Fulcher von Chartres: Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Studia humaniora: Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance, 15 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1990).
- EPP, Verena, "Miles and militia bei Fulcher von Chartres und seinen Bearbeitern", in "*Militia Christi*" e *Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, pp. 769-84.
- GIESE, Wolfgang, "Untersuchungen zur *Historia Hierosolymitana* des Fulcher von Chartres", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69 (1987), 62-115.
- KOHLER, Charles, "Un sermon commémoratif de la prise de Jérusalem par les croisés attribué à Foucher de Chartres", *ROL* 8 (1900-1), 158-64.

- WARD, John O., "Some principles of rhetorical historiography in the twelfth century", in *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. E. BREISACH, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 19 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1985), pp. 118-45.  
*See also* Peters 1971 (2.1.1)

### 2.1.7. GESTA FRANCORUM

- Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. Heinrich HAGENMEYER (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1890).  
*Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind HILL (London: Nelson, 1962).  
*La Geste des Francs: Chronique anonyme de la Première Croisade*, trans. Aude MATIGNON (Paris: Arléa, 1992).  
*Histoire anonyme de la Première Croisade*, ed. and trans. Louis BRÉHIER, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age*, 4 (Paris: Champion, 1924).  
FRANCE, John, "The use of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the early twelfth-century sources for the First Crusade", in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 29-42.  
HILL, Rosalind, "Crusading warfare: A camp-follower's view, 1097-1120", in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, I, ed. R. Allen BROWN (Ipswich: Boydell & Brewer, 1979), pp. 75-83, 209-11.  
KREY, August C., "A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, pp. 57-78.  
MORRIS, Colin, "The *Gesta Francorum* as narrative history", *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), 55-71.  
OEHLER, Hans, "Studien zu den *Gesta Francorum*", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1970), 58-97.  
SKOULATOS, B., "L'auteur anonyme des *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* et le monde byzantine", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 504-32.  
WOLF, Kenneth Baxter, "Crusade and narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*", *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 207-16.  
*See also* France forthcoming (2.1.1)

### 2.1.8. GUIBERT OF NOGENT

- Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos*, RHC 4: 113-263.  
Guibertus abbas S. Mariae Nogenti, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Robert B. C. HUYGENS, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

- The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert LEVINE (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1996).
- BENTON, J., "The personality of Guibert of Nogent", *Psychoanalytic Review* 57 (1970-71), 563-86.
- BURSTEIN, Eitan, "Quelques remarques sur le vocabulaire de Guibert de Nogent", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 21 (1978), 247-63.
- CHAURAND, J., "La conception de l'histoire de Guibert de Nogent", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 8 (1965), 381-95.
- COUPE, M. D., "The personality of Guibert de Nogent reconsidered", *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 317-29.
- GARAND, Monique-Cécile, "Le scriptorium de Guibert de Nogent", *Scriptorium* 31 (1977), 3-29.
- HUYGENS, Robert B. C., *La Tradition manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent*, Instrumenta Patristica, 21 (Steenbrugis: Abbatia S. Petri, 1991).
- LEVINE, Robert, "Satiric vulgarity in Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos*", *Rhetorica* 7 (1989), 261-73.
- MOORE, R. I., "Guibert of Nogent and his world", in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davies*, ed. Henry MAYR-HARTING and R. I. MOORE (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 10717.
- See also Faber (5.3)

#### 2.1.9. ORDERIC VITALIS

- The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie CHIBNALL, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969-80).
- CHIBNALL, Marjorie, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).
- MUSSET, Lucien, "L'horizon géographique, moral et intellectuel d'Orderic Vital, historien anglo-normand", in *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Age*, ed. Daniel POIRION, Cultures et civilisations médiévales, 2 (Paris: Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984), 101-22.

#### 2.1.10. PETER TUDEBODE

- Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. John H. HILL and Laurita L. HILL, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 12 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1977).
- Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, trans. John H. HILL and Laurita L. HILL, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 101 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974).
- Petri Tudebodi seu Tudebovis sacerdotis Sivracensis historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, RHC Occ. 3: 1-117.
- See also France forthcoming (2.1.1)



## 2.1.11. RADULPH OF CAEN

*Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana ... auctore Radulfo Cadomensi*, RHC Occ. 3: 587-716.

BOEHM, Laetitia, "Die *Gesta Tancredi* des Radulph von Caen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung der Normannen um 1100", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 75 (1956), 47-72.

PAYEN, Jean-Charles, "Une légende épique en gestation: Les *Gesta Tancredi* de Raoul de Caen", in *La Chanson de Geste et le Mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis*, ed. Emmanuèle BAUMGARTNER et al., 2 vols (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay: n.p., 1982), 2:1051-62.

## 2.1.12. RAYMOND OF AGUILERS

*Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. and tr. John H. HILL and Laurita L. HILL, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 71 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968).

*Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John H. HILL and Laurita L. HILL, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 9 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1969).

*Raimundi de Aguilers canonici Podiensis historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, RHC Occ. 3: 231-309.

FRANCE, John, "A critical edition of the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1967).

RICHARD, Jean, "Raymond d'Aguilers, historien de la première croisade", *Journal des Savants* 3 (1971), 206-12.

See also France forthcoming (2.1.1), Auffarth 1989 (5.5.4)

## 2.1.13. ROBERT THE MONK

*Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ. 3: 717-882.

*Historia Hierosolymitana von Robertus Monachus in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Barbara HAUPT (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972).

KRAFT, Friedrich, *Heinrich Steinhöwels Verdeutschung der Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus: eine literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1905).

## 2.1.14. WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 90, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1887-89).

- Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. MYNORS, Rodney M. THOMSON and M. WINTERBOTTOM, 2 vols (Oxford, forthcoming).
- BROOKE, Christopher, "William of Malmesbury as historian and man of letters", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29 (1978), 387-414.
- GRABOIS, Aryeh, "The description of Jerusalem by William of Malmesbury: A mirror of the Holy Land's presence in the Anglo-Norman mind", in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1990*, ed. Marjorie CHIBNALL (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1991), pp. 145-56.
- THOMSON, Rodney M., *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1987).
- THOMSON, Rodney M., "William of Malmesbury, historian of crusade", *Reading Medieval Studies* 23 (1997), 121-34.
- WINTERBOTTOM, Michael, "The *Gesta Regum* of William of Malmesbury", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 5 (1995), 158-73.
- See also Ward 1985 (2.1.6)

#### 2.1.15. WILLIAM OF TYRE

- Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. Robert B. C. HUYGENS, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63-63A, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).
- A History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, trans. Emily A. BABCOCK and August C. KREY, Records of Civilization, 35, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).
- Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum edita a venerabili Willermo Tyrensi archiepiscopo*, RHC Occ. 1-2.
- DAVIS, R. H. C., "William of Tyre", in *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek BAKER (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), pp. 64-76.
- EDBURY, Peter W.; ROWE, John Gordon, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, ser. 4, 8 (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).
- FOLDA, Jaroslav, "Manuscripts of the history of Outremer by William of Tyre: A handlist", *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90-95.
- HIESTAND, Rudolf, "Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34 (1978), 345-80.
- HUYGENS, Robert B. C., "La tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr", *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 5 (1964), 281-373.
- HUYGENS, Robert B. C., "Editing William of Tyre", *Sacris Erudiri* 27 (1984), 461-73.
- HUYGENS, Robert B. C., "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant: un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son Histoire retrouvé", *Latomus* 21 (1962), 811-29.
- KAZHDAN, Alexander; ZABOROV, M. A., "Гийом Тирский о составе господствующего класса в Византии (конец XI-XII в.)", *Византийский Временник* 32 (1971), 48-54.

- KREY, August C., "William of Tyre: The making of an historian in the Middle Ages", *Speculum* 16 (1941), 149-66.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, "Guillaume de Tyr à l'école", *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon* 117 (1985-86), 257-65.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, "Zum Tode von Wilhelm von Tyrus", *Archiv für Diplomatik* 5-6 (1959-60), 182-201.
- MÖHRING, Hannes, "Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus: Die Frage der Quellenabhängigkeiten", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1984), 170-83.
- RÖDIG, Thomas, *Zur politischen Ideenwelt Wilhelms von Tyrus*, Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 429 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990).
- SCHWINGES, R., *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 15 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977).
- VESSEY, David W.T.C., "William of Tyre and the art of historiography", *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), 433-55.

#### 2.1.16. OTHER

- Metellus von Tegernsee, *Expeditio Hierosolymitana*, ed. Peter C. JACOBSEN, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 6 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982).
- DUPARC-QUIOC, Suzanne, "Un poème latin du XIIIe siècle sur la première croisade par Gilon de Toucy, augmenté par Fulco", *Les Epopées de la Croisade*, pp. 35-49.
- FRANCE, John, "The text of the account of the capture of Jerusalem in the Ripoll Manuscript: Bibliothèque nationale (latin) 5128", *English Historical Review* 103 (1988), 640-57.
- GROCOCK, Chris W., "L'aventure épique: le traitement poétique de la Première Croisade par Gilon de Paris et son continuateur", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 17-28.

#### 2.1.17. DOCUMENTS

- BULL, Marcus, "The diplomatic of the First Crusade", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 35-54.
- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich, "Der Brief der Kreuzfahrer an den Pabst und die abendländische Kirche im Jahre 1099 nach der Schlacht bei Askalon", *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 13 (1873), 400-12.
- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich, *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacrae spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1901).

- MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, José, "Aciebus ordinatis en la *Epist. II A. de Ribodimonte ad M. archiep. Remorum* del manuscrito 944 de la Biblioteca de Cataluña", *Medievalia* 9 (1990), 161-67.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, MGH Schriften, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1996).

## 2.2. GREEK SOURCES

### 2.2.1. ANNA KOMNENE

- Алексиада*, trans. Ya. N. LYUBARSKII (Moskva: Nauka, 1965).
- Ana Comnena, La Alexiada: Estudio preliminar y traducción*, trans. Emilio DÍAZ ROLANDO, Clásicos universales, 3 (Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 1989).
- Anna Komnene, Alexias*, trans. Diether Roderich REINSCH (Köln: DuMont, 1996).
- Anne Comnène, Alexiade*, trans. Bernard LEIB, 3 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937-76).
- The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E. R. A. SEWTER (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).
- The Alexiade of the Princess Anna Comnena*, trans. Elizabeth A. S. DAWES (London: Kegan Paul, 1928).
- BALDWIN, Barry, "Bohemond's breathing", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), 314-16 [on phraseology applied to Bohemond by Anna Komnene].
- BOMPAIRE, Jean, "Remarques sur la culture antique d'Anne Comnène", *Revue des études islamiques* 54 for 1986 (1988), 67-76.
- BUCKLER, Georgina, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929).
- CHRYSOSTOMIDES, Julian, "A Byzantine historian: Anna Comnena", in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. David O. MORGAN (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1982), pp. 30-46.
- CONCA, Fabrizio, "Aspetti tradizionali nella tecnica storiografica di Anna Comnena", *Acme* 33 (1980), 139-48.
- DYCK, A. R., "Iliad and Alexiad: Anna Comnena's Homeric reminiscences", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 27 (1986), 113-20.
- FRANCE, John, "Anna Comnena, the Alexiad and the First Crusade", *Reading Medieval Studies* 10 (1984), 20-38.
- GOUMA-PETERSON, Thalia, "Engendered category or recognizable life: Anna Komnene and her Alexiad", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23 (1996), 25-34.
- HILL, Barbara, "A vindication of the rights of women to power by Anna Komnene", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23 (1996), 45-53.

- JUREWICZ, Oktawiusz, "Anne Komnene - Kronprinzessin und Schriftstellerin", in *Griechenland - Byzanz - Europa. Ein Studienband*, ed. Joachim HERRMANN, Helga KÖPSTEIN and Reimar MÜLLER, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, 52 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1985), pp. 50-60.
- KAMBYLIS, A., "Textkritisches zum 15. Buch der Alexias der Anna Komnene", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 19 (1970), 121-34.
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, "Anna Komnene und die Lateiner", *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 169-82.
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, "Der erste Kreuzzug in der Darstellung Anna Komnenes", in *Varia II: Beiträge von A. Berger et al.*, Poikila Byzantina, 6 (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1987), pp. 49-148.
- LOUD, Graham A., "Anna Komnena and her sources for the Normans of southern Italy", in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. Ian WOOD and Graham A. LOUD (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 41-57.
- LYUBARSKII, Ya. N., "Why is the Alexiad a masterpiece of Byzantine literature?", in *Λειμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. O. ROSENQVIST, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 6 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1996), pp. 127-41.
- REINSCH, Diether R., "Die editio princeps eines Auszugs aus der Alexias Anna Komnenes aus dem Jahr 1562: ein unabhängiger Überlieferungsträger", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84-85 for 1991-1992 (1993), 12-16.
- REINSCH, Diether R., "Zur literarischen Leistung der Anna Komnene", in *Λειμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, pp. 113-25.
- SHLOSSER, F. E., "Byzantine studies and the history of the crusade: The Alexiad of Anna Comnena as source for the crusades", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990), 397-406.
- SKOULATOS, B., *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Leuven: Nauwelaerts, 1980).
- TAKÁCS, Sarolta A., "Oracles and science - Anna Comnena's comments on astrology", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23 (1996), 35-44.
- THOMAS, R. D., "Anna Comnena's account of the First Crusade: History and politics in the reigns of the emperors Alexius I and Manuel I Comnenus", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), 269-312.

### 2.2.2. JOHN ZONARAS

- TRAPP, Erich, *Militärs und Höflinge im Ringen um das Kaisertum: Byzantinische Geschichte von 969 bis 1118 nach der Chronik des Johannes Zonaras*, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, 16 (Graz: Styria, 1986).

### 2.3. HEBREW SOURCES

*The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, ed. Shlomo EIDELBERG (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977).

ABULAFIA, Anna Sapir, "The interrelationship between the Hebrew chronicles on the First Crusade", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27 (1982), 221-39.

CHAZAN, R., "The Hebrew First Crusade chronicles", *Revue des études juives* 133 (1974), 235-54.

COHEN, Jeremy, "Gzeirot tatnav - ha-meorat ve-ha-alihot: sipurei kiddush hashem be-heksheram ha-tarbuti-hevreti" [The persecutions of 1096 - from martyrdom to matryology: The sociocultural context of the Hebrew crusade chronicles], *Zion* 59 (1994), 169-208.

See also Schiffmann 1931 (5.3)

### 2.4. ARMENIAN SOURCES

*Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse (962-1136) avec la continuation de Grégoire le Prêtre jusqu'en 1162*, trans. Edouard DULAURIER (Paris: A. Durand, 1858).

Matthieu d'Edessa, *Récit de la première croisade*, RHC Arm. 1: 24-150.

DOSTOURIAN, Ara E., *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993) [English translation of Matthew's chronicle].

See also Lüders 1964 (2.5.1)

### 2.5. SYRIAC SOURCES

#### 2.5.1. GENERAL

LÜDERS, Anneliese, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen*, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, 29 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964).

#### 2.5.2. ANONYMOUS SYRIAC CHRONICLE

*Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad. A.C. 1234 pertinens*, trans. Albert ABOUNA and J.M. FIEY, *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 354 (Louvain: Peeters, 1974).

"The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle", ed. and trans. A. S. TRITTON and Hamilton A. R. GIBB, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 92 (1933), 69-102, 273-306.

## 2.5.3. BAR HEBRAEUS

*The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj ... Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. Ernest A. Wallis BUDGE, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

TEULE, Herman, "The crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic secular chronicles: A different approach", in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context - Contacts - Confrontations*, ed. Krijnie CIGGAAR, Adelbert DAVIDS and Herman TEULE, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 75 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1996), pp. 39-49.

## 2.5.4. MICHAEL THE SYRIAN

*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199), éditée par la première fois et traduite en français*, ed. and trans. J-B. CHABOT, 4 vols (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1899-1910).

## 2.6. ARABIC SOURCES

## 2.6.1. GENERAL

CAHEN, Claude, "The historiography of the Seljuqid period", in *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 59-78.

GABRIELI, Francesco, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969).

GABRIELI, Francesco, "The Arabic historiography of the crusades", in *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 98-107.

GABRIELI, Francesco, *Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht* (Zürich: Artemis, 1973).

GABRIELI, Francesco, *Storici Arabi delle crociate* (Torino: Einaudi, 1957).

GIBB, Hamilton A. R., "Notes on the Arabic materials for the history of the early crusades", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 7 (1933-35), 738-54.

HILLENBRAND, Carole, "The First Crusade: The Muslim perspective", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 130-41.

ROSENTHAL, Franz, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1952; rev. edn 1968).

See also Cahen 1940 (5.6.)

## 2.6.2. IBN AL-ATHIR

*Extrait de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh par Ibn-Alatyr*, RHC Or. 1: 187-800, 2: 1-180.

## 2.6.3. IBN AL-QALANISI

*The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi*, trans. Hamilton A. R. GIBB, University of London Historical Series, 5 (London: Luzac, 1932).

*Damas de 1075 à 1154: Traduction ... d'un fragment de l'Histoire d'Ibn al-Qalanisi*, trans. Roger LE TOURNEAU (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1952).

## 2.6.4. KAMAL AL-DIN

*Extraits de la chronique d'Alep par Kemal ed-Dîn*, RHC Or. 3: 571-690.



## 3. ORIGINS OF THE CRUSADE

## 3.1. THE MIDDLE EAST

## 3.1.1. GENERAL

- ASHTOR, Eliyahu, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976).
- ATIYA, Aziz S., *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London: Methuen, 1968).
- CAHEN, Claude, *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman médiévale, Initiation à l'Islam, 1* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1982).
- CAHEN, Claude, "La campagne de Mantzikert d'après les sources musulmans", *Byzantion* 9 (1934), 628-42.
- DAJANI-SHAKEEL, Hadia, "Jerusalem: In the prayers of Islam", *Queen's Quarterly* 103 (1996), 717-27.
- DURI, Abdul Aziz, "Jerusalem in the early Islamic period, 7th-11th centuries AD", in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K. J. ASALI (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1990), pp. 105-29, 281-83.
- FRIENDLY, Alfred, *The Dreadful Day: The Battle of Mantzikert, 1071* (London: Hutchinson, 1981).
- GIL, Moshe, "The Jewish quarters of Jerusalem (A.D. 638-1099) according to the Cairo Geniza documents and other sources", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41 (1982), 261-78.
- HILLENBRAND, Carole, "1092: A murderous year", *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 15-16 (1995), 281-96 [discusses the destabilising effects of the murders of key leaders in the Muslim world].
- HOLT, Peter M., *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the 11th Century to 1517* (London: Longman, 1986).
- PLANK, P., "Patriarch Symeon II. von Jerusalem und der erste Kreuzzug: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung", *Ostkirchliche Studien* 43 (1994), 275-327.
- VRYONIS, Speros, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
- VRYONIS, Speros, Jr., "The experience of Christians under Seljuk and Ottoman domination, eleventh to sixteenth century", in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael GERVERS and Ramzi Jibran BIKHAZI, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies*, 9 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1990), 185-216.

## 3.1.2. ARMENIA

- ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANYAN, Viada A., "Этно-конфессиональное самосознание армяно-византийской знати в XI-XII веках", in *Элита и этнос Средневековья*, ed. Adelaida A. SVANIDZE (Moskva: Institut Vseobshchei Istorii, 1995), pp. 178-88.
- ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANYAN [given as Arutjunova-Fidanjan], Viada A., "The ethno-confessional self-awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians", *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 21 (1988-89), 345-63.
- CHARANIS, Peter, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1963).
- DÉDÉYAN, Gérard, "L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XIe siècle", *Byzantion* 45 (1975), 41-117.
- DÉDÉYAN, Gérard, "Les princes arméniennes de l'Euphratèse et l'empire byzantin (fin XIe - milieu XIIe s.)", in *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture*, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 12 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 79-88.
- FORSE, James H., "Armenians and the First Crusade", *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), 13-22.
- LAURENT, J., "Des Grecs aux croisés: Etude sur l'histoire d'Edesse entre 1071 et 1098", *Byzantion* 1 (1924), 367-449.
- SEGAL, Judah B., *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).
- SHARF, Andrew, "Armenians and Byzantines in the time of Alexius I Comnenus", in *Bar-Ilan Studies in History II: Confrontation and Coexistence*, ed. Pinhas ARTZI (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984), pp. 101-22.

## 3.1.3. BYZANTIUM (see also 5.4)

- Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. MULLETT and D. SMYTHE, Belfast Texts and Translations, 4/1 (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996).
- ANGOLD, Michael, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- ANGOLD, Michael, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1984).
- ANGOLD, Michael, "The Byzantine state on the eve of the battle of Manikert", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1991), 9-34.
- ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANYAN [given as Arutjunova-Fidanjan], Viada A., "Some aspects of the military-administrative districts and of Byzantine administration in Armenia during the 11th century", *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 20 (1986-87), 309-20.
- CAHEN, Claude, "La diplomatie orientale de Byzance face à la poussée seldjukide", *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 10-15.
- CHALANDON, Ferdinand, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081-1118)* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 1900).

- CHARANIS, Peter, "The Byzantine empire in the eleventh century", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 177-219.
- CHEYNET, Jean-Claude, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia, 9 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990).
- CHEYNET, Jean-Claude, "Manzikert, un désastre militaire?", *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 412-38.
- EICKHOFF, Ekkehard, "Zur Wende von Manzikert", in *Das Andere wahrnehmen: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte*, ed. Martin KINTZINGER, Wolfgang STÜRNER and Johannes ZAHLTEN (Köln: Böhlau, 1991), pp. 101-19.
- HEAD, Constance, "Alexios Komnenos and the English", *Byzantion* 47 (1977), 186-98.
- HROCHOVÁ, Vera, "Byzance et les turcs seljoukides 1071-1204. Aspects socio-économiques", *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 142-46.
- KULOGLU, Abdullah, "The battle of Malazgirt and the Turkish expansion in Anatolia", *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire* 46 (1980), 1-14.
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, "Des Kaisers Macht und Ohnmacht: Zum Zerfall der Zentralgewalt in Byzanz vor dem Zweiten Kreuzzug", in *Varia I: Beiträge von Ralph-Johannes Lilie und Paul Speck*, Poikila Byzantina, 4 (Bonn: Habelt, 1984), pp. 9-120.
- LOUNGHIS, T., "The failure of the German-Byzantine alliance on the eve of the First Crusade", *Diptycha* 1 (1979), 158-67.
- McQUEEN, William B., "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071-1112", *Byzantion* 56 (1986), 427-76.
- MULLETT, Margaret, "Alexios I Komnenos and imperial renewal", in *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St Andrews, March 1992*, ed. Paul MAGDALINO, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications, 2 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), pp. 259-67.
- VRYONIS, Spiros, Jr., "Byzantium, the social basis for decline in the eleventh century", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 2 (1959), 159-75.

### 3.1.4. FATIMIDS

- BESHIR, B. J., "Fatimid military organization", *Der Islam* 55 (1978), 37-56.
- LEV, Yaacov, "Regime, army and society in medieval Egypt, 9th-12th centuries", *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries*, pp. 115-52.
- LEV, Yaacov, *State and Society in Fatimid Egypt*, Arab History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1991).
- LEWIS, Bernard, "The Isma'ilites and the Assassins", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 99-132.

## 3.1.5. SELJUKS

- AGADZHANOV, Sergei G., *Государство Селджукидов и Средняя Азия в XI-XII веках* (Moskva: Nauka, 1991).
- AGADZHANOV [given as Agadshanow], Sergei G., *Der Staat der Seldschukiden und Mittelasien im 11-12. Jahrhundert*, *Turkmenenforschung*, 17 (Berlin: Reinhold Schletzer, 1994).
- CAHEN, Claude, "La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure (seconde moitié du XIe s.), *Byzantion* 18 (1948), 5-67.
- CAHEN, Claude, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071-1330* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968).
- CAHEN, Claude, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, *Varia Turcica*, 7 (Istanbul: Divit, 1988).
- CAHEN, Claude, "The Turkish invasion: The Selchükids", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 135-76.
- CANARD, M., "La campagne arménienne du Sultan salguqide Alp Arslan et la prise d'Ani en 1064", *Revue des études arméniennes*, n.s. 2 (1965), 239-59.
- EDDÉ, Anne-Marie, "Ridwan, prince d'Alep de 1095 à 1113", *Revue des études islamiques* 54 for 1986 (1988), 101-25.
- KULOGLU, Abdullah, "The Anatolian Seljuk state (1077-1308)", *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire* 46 (1980), 15-30.

## 3.1.6. OTHER

- HODGSON, Marshall G. S., *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizari Ismailis Against the Islamic World* ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1955).
- LEWIS, Bernard, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1967).
- See also Lewis (3.1.4).

## 3.2. CRUSADING IDEOLOGY

## 3.2.1. GENERAL

- BLAKE, Ernest O., "The formation of the 'crusade idea'", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 11-31.
- BRUNDAGE, James A., "The army of the First Crusade and the crusade vow: Some reflections on a recent book", *Medieval Studies* 33 (1971), 334-43.
- BRUNDAGE, James A., *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

- COLE, Penny, "O God, the heathen have come into your inheritance (Ps. 78.1): The theme of religious pollution in crusade documents, 1095-1188", in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, pp. 84-111.
- COLE, Penny, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Medieval Academy Books, 98 (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1991).
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "Canon law and the First Crusade", in *The Horns of Hattin*, pp. 41-48.
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "Cluny and the First Crusade", *Revue bénédictine* 73 (1973), 285-311.
- DANIEL, Norman, "The legal and political theory of the crusade", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 6: 3-38.
- DANIEL, Norman, "Crusade propaganda", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 6: 39-97.
- ERDMANN, Carl, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte, 6 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935).
- ERDMANN, Carl, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- FLORI, Jean, "Croisade et chevalerie. Convergence idéologique ou rupture?", in *Femmes. Mariages - Lignages, XIIIe-XIVe siècles. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, ed. Jean DUFOURNET et al., Bibliothèque du Moyen Age, 1 (Bruxelles: De Boeck-Wesmael, 1992), pp. 157-76.
- GILCHRIST, John T., "The Erdmann thesis and canon law, 1083-1141", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 37-45.
- GRABOIS, Aryeh, "Anselme, l'Ancien Testament et l'idée de croisade", in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIIe siècles*, Spicilegium Beccense, 2 (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1984), pp. 161-173, 197-200.
- HEHL, Ernst-Dieter, "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?", *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), 297-336.
- HIESTAND, Rudolf, "Der Kreuzzug - ein Traum?", in *Traum und Träumen: Inhalt - Darstellung - Funktionen einer Lebenserfahrung in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. Rudolf HIESTAND, Studia humaniora: Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance, 24 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1994), 153-85.
- LACROIX, Benoît, "Deus le volt! La théologie d'un cri", in *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (IXe-XIIIe siècles): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers: CESC, 1974): pp. 461-70.
- SIBERRY, Elizabeth, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).
- TYERMAN, Christopher J., "Were there any crusades in the twelfth century?", *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 553-77.
- VAUGHN, Sally N., "Anselm in Italy, 1097-1100", in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XVI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1993*, ed. Marjorie CHIBNALL (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1994), pp. 245-70.

## 3.2.2. HOLY WAR

- CARDINI, Franco, "La guerra santa nella cristianità", in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, pp. 387-401.
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "The genesis of the crusades: The springs of western ideas of holy war", in *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas P. MURPHY (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), pp. 9-32.
- FLORI, Jean, "L'église et la guerre sainte de la 'Paix de Dieu' à la 'croisade'", *Annales ESC* 47 (1992), 453-66.
- GILCHRIST, John T., "The Papacy and the war against the 'Saracens', 795-1216", *International History Review* 10 (1988), 174-97.
- KEDAR, Benjamin Z., "Croisade et jihad vus par l'ennemi: une étude des perceptions mutuelles des motivations", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 345-58.
- McCORMICK, Michael, "Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade", in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, pp. 209-40.
- McGINN, Bernard, "Violence and spirituality: The enigma of the First Crusade", *Journal of Religion* 69 (1989), 375-79.
- PARTNER, Peter, *God of Battles: Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam* (London: Harper Collins, 1997).
- PARTNER, Peter, "Holy war, crusade and jihad: an attempt to define some problems", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 333-43.
- RUSSELL, Frederick H., *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, ser. 3, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
- See also* Möhring 1988 (1.2)

## 3.2.3. PILGRIMAGE

- DAVIES, J.G., "Pilgrimage and crusading literature", in *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. Barbara N. SARGENT-BAUR, Studies in Medieval Culture, 30; University of Pittsburgh, Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program, Occasional Studies Series, 5 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp. 1-30.
- FRANK, Robert Worth, Jr., "Pilgrimage and sacral power", in *Journeys Toward God*, pp. 31-43.
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 68-78.
- WILKINSON, John, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977).

## 3.2.4. JERUSALEM

- AUFFARTH, Christoph, "Himmlisches und irdisches Jerusalem. Ein religionswissenschaftlicher Versuch zur Kreuzzugeschatologie", *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 1/1 (1993), 25-49, 1/2 (1993), 91-118.
- DELUZ, Christiane, "L'accomplissement des temps à Jérusalem", in *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*, Sénéfiance, 33 (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, 1993), pp. 87-198.
- FRANCE, John, "The destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), 1-17 [argues that the destruction of 1009 was forgotten by the time of the crusade].
- HAMILTON, Bernard, "The impact of crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom", *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 695-713.
- KATZIR, Yael, "The conquests of Jerusalem, 1099 and 1187: Historical memory and religious typology", in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, pp. 103-13.
- KONRAD, Robert, "Das himmlische und das irdische Jerusalem im mittelalterlichen Denken: Mystische Vorstellung und geschichtliche Wirkung", in *Speculum Historiale: Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung*, ed. Clemens BAUER, Laetitia BOEHM and Max MÜLLER (Freiburg: Karl Alber, 1965).
- OSBORNE, John, "A tale of two cities: Sacred geography in Christian Jerusalem", *Queen's Quarterly* 103 (1996), 741-50.
- PRAWER, Joshua, "The Jerusalem the crusaders captured: A contribution to the medieval topography of the city", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 1-16.
- SCHEIN, Sylvia, "Jérusalem: objectif originel de la Première Croisade?", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 119-26.
- See also Duri (3.1.1), Gil (3.1.1), Plank 1994 (3.1.1), Cowdrey 1995 (3.2)

## 3.2.5. ATTITUDES TO ISLAM

- d'ALVERNY, Marie-Thérèse, "La connaissance de l'Islam en Occident du IXe au milieu du XII siècle", in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studi del Centro Italiano sull'Alto Medioevo, 12, 2 vols (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1965), pp. 577-602.
- BENNETT, Matthew, "First Crusaders' images of Muslims: The influence of vernacular poetry?", *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22 (1986), 101-22.
- DANIEL, Norman, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960).
- FLORI, Jean, "La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval. Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam", *Aevum* 66 (1992), 245-256.
- GAUSS, J., "Toleranz und Intoleranz zwischen Christen und Mulsimen in der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen", *Saeculum* 19 (1968), 362-89.

- HILL, Rosalind, "The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the First Crusade", in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. HOLT (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), pp. 1-8.
- KEDAR, Benjamin Z., *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- SOUTHERN, Richard W., *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- See also Levine 1989 (2.1.8)

### 3.2. URBAN II AND THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT

- BECKER, Alfons, "Urbain II, pape de la croisade", in *Les Champenois et la Croisade. Actes des IVe Journées rémoises, 27-28 novembre 1987*, ed. Yvonne BELLENGER and Danielle QUÉRUÉL, Publications du Centre de Recherche sur la Littérature du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance de l'Université de Reims (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989), pp. 9-17.
- BECKER, Alfons, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 19, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964-88).
- BEECH, George T., "Urban II, the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, and the First Crusade", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 57-70.
- CAPITANI, Ovidio, "Sondaggio sulla terminologia militare in Urbano II", in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XII*, pp. 167-92.
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "Pope Urban II and the idea of crusade", *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 36 (1995), 721-42.
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "The papacy and the origins of crusading", *Medieval History* 1 (1991), 48-60.
- CROZET, René, "Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095-96) et son importance du point de vue archéologique", *Annales du Midi* 49 (1937), 42-69.
- CROZET, René, "Le voyage d'Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France (1095-1096)", *Revue historique* 179 (1937), 271-310.
- DUNCALF, Frederic, "The councils of Piacenza and Clermont", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 220-52.
- DUNCALF, "The pope's plan for the First Crusade", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, pp. 44-56.
- FLICHE, Augustin, "Urbain II et la croisade", *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 13 (1927), 289-306.
- FLORI, Jean, "Une ou plusieurs 'première croisade'? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident", *Revue historique* 285 (1991), 3-27.
- FORNASARI, Giuseppe, "Tra assestamento disciplinare e consolidamento istituzionale: un'interpretazione del pontificato di Urbano II", in *Regensburg, Bayern und Europa: Festschrift für Kurt Reindel zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Lothar KOLMER and Peter SEGL (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), pp. 213-28.



- HIESTAND, Rudolf, "Les canons de Clermont et d'Antioche sur l'organisation ecclésiastique des Etats croisés: Authentiques ou faux?", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 29-37.
- KREY, August C., "Urban's crusade, success or failure?", *American Historical Review* 53 (1948), 235-50.
- MATZKE, Michael, "*De origine Hospitalorum Hierosolymitanorum* - vom klösterlichen Pilgerhospital zur internationalen Organisation", *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 1-23 [argues that Urban II planned the creation of a hospice in Jerusalem].
- MUNRO, Dana C., "The speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095", *American Historical Review* 11 (1905-6), 231-42.
- PAHLITZSCH, Johannes, "Die Idee von der *liberatio orientaliu[m] ecclesiaru[m]* bei Urban II.", in *Miszellen aus dem Schülerkreis: Kaspar Elm dargebracht zum 23. September 1994* (Berlin: Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut, 1994), pp. 13-23.
- PORTER, J. M. B., "Preacher of the First Crusade? Robert of Arbrissel after the Council of Clermont", in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 43-53.
- RICHARD, Jean, "La chrétienté latine et l'Orient aux XIe et XIIe s.", *Etudes d'histoire* for 1991-1992 (1994), 19-33 .
- RICHARD, Jean, "Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence", in *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Alfons Becker zu seinem fünfundsiechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Ernst-Dieter HEHL, Hubertus SEIBERT and Franz STAAB (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), pp. 129-35.
- SOMERVILLE, Robert, "The French councils of Urban II: some basic considerations", *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 2 (1970), 56-65
- SOMERVILLE, Robert, "The council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian society", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974), 55-90.
- SOMERVILLE, Robert, "The council of Clermont and the First Crusade", *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976), 323-37.
- MORILLON, M., "Le voyage d'Urbain II en France, le concile de Clermont et les débuts de la première croisade", *Amis du pays cavaisien* n.s. 40 (1980), 11-16.
- See also Munro 1922 (5.4)

#### 4. COMPOSITION OF THE CRUSADE

##### 4.1. MOTIVATION

- BLIESE, John R. E., "The motives of the first crusaders: A social psychological analysis", *Journal of Psychohistory* 17 (1990), 393-411.
- BULL, Marcus, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- BULL, Marcus, "The roots of lay enthusiasm for the First Crusade", *History* 78 (1993), 353-72.
- FRANCE, John, "Patronage and the appeal of the First Crusade", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 5-20.
- COMBARIEU, Micheline de, "La terre de repromission", in *Terres médiévales*, ed. Bernard RIBÉMONT, Sapience, 8 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993), pp. 71-100.
- MCGINN, Bernard, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The piety of the first crusaders", in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. Bede K. LACKNER and Kenneth R. PHILIP, The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, 12 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), pp. 33-72.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100", *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), 721-36.

##### 4.2. RECRUITMENT AND PARTICIPATION (see also 4.3)

- AIRALDI, Gabriella, "I Lombardi alla Prima Crociata", in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno crociato del Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella AIRALDI and Benjamin Z. KEDAR (Genova: Università di Genova, 1986), pp. 477-96.
- ANDENNA, G., "I Lombardi e la prima crociata", in *Piacenza e la prima crociata*, pp. 67-88.
- BEECH, George T., "A Norman-Italian adventurer in the East: Richard of Salerno 1097-1112", in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XV: Proceedings of the XV Battle Conference and of the XI Colloquio Medievale of the Officina di Studi Medievali, 1992*, ed. Marjorie CHIBNALL (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), pp. 25-40.
- DEMOUY, Patrick, "L'Eglise de Reims et la croisade aux XIe-XIIe siècles", in *Les Champenois et la Croisade: Actes des IVe Journées rémoises, 27-28 novembre 1987*, ed. Yvonne BELLENGER and Danielle QUÉRUÉL (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989), pp. 19-38.
- EDGINGTON, Susan, "Pagan Peverel: An Anglo-Norman crusader", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 90-93.
- FAVREAU-LILIE, Marie-Luise, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Lande vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098-1197)* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1989).

- FIGLIUOLO, Bruno, "Ancora sui Normanni d'Italia alla prima crociata", *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 104 for 1986 (1988), 1-16.
- FLORI, Jean, "Un problème de méthodologie: La valeur des nombres chez les chroniqueurs du Moyen Age. A propos des effectifs de la Première Croisade", *Le Moyen Age* 99 (1993), 399-422.
- GRABOIS, Aryeh, "Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land", in *Anglo-Norman Studies VII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1984*, ed. R. Allen BROWN (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985), pp. 132-41.
- JAMISON, E. M., "Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with special reference to the Norman contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade", in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope*, Publications of the University of Manchester, 268 (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1939), pp. 195-204.
- MACQUARRIE, Alan, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095-1560* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985).
- MOELLER, Charles, "Les flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem", in *Mélanges Paul Fredericq* (Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1903), pp. 189-202.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099: structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992), 301-29.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "Questions of nationality in the First Crusade", *Medieval History* 1 (1991), 61-73.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "A note on the origin of Eustace Grenier", *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* 6 (1986), 28-30.
- MURRAY, Alan V., "The origins of the Frankish nobility of the kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1118", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989),
- PAGNY, Raymond, "Les seigneurs et la seigneurie de Cons-la-Grandville", *Bulletin de l'Association "Les Amis du Vieux Longwy"* 5 (1962), 3-9, 74-78 [on the crusader Dudo of Cons].
- PONTIERI, Ernesto, "I Normanni dell'Italia meridionale e la Prima Crociata", *Archivio storico italiano* 114 (1956), 3-17.
- RÖHRICHT, Reinhold, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1894).
- ROLAND, C. G., "Les seigneurs et comtes de Rochefort", *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur* 20 (1893), 63-141 [on the crusaders Cono, Gozelo and Lambert of Montaigu].
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "Early crusaders to the East and the costs of crusading", in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael GOODICH, Sophia MENACHE and Sylvia SCHEIN (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 237-58.
- RUSSELL, Josiah, "Demographic factors of the crusades", in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, pp. 53-58.
- SCHEIN, Sylvia, "Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47 (1991), 119-38.

- TYERMAN, Christopher J., *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- TYERMAN, Christopher J., "Who went on crusades to the Holy Land?", in *The Horns of Hattin*, pp. 13-26.
- WANKENNE, André, "Les Belges et la croisade", *Etudes classiques* 55 (1987), 163-73.
- See also David (4.3), Cate 1944 (5.7), Möhring 1992 (5.3)

#### 4.3. INDIVIDUAL LEADERS (see also 4.2)

##### 4.3.1. ADHEMAR OF LE PUY

- ADHÉMAR-LABAUME, G. J. de, *Adhémar de Monteil, évêque du Puy, légat d'Urbain II, 1079-1098* (Le Puy: Peyriller, Rouchon et Gamon, 1910).
- BRUNDAGE, James A., "Adhemar of Puy: The bishop and his critics", *Speculum* 34 (1959), 201-12.
- HILL, John H.; HILL, Laurita L., "Contemporary accounts and the later reputation of Adhemar, bishop of Puy", *Mediaevalia et humanistica* 9 (1955), 30-38.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, "Zur Beurteilung Adhemars von Le Puy", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16 (1960), 547-52.

##### 4.3.2. BALDWIN OF BOULOGNE

- GINDLER, Paul, *Graf Balduin I. von Edessa* (Halle: C. A. Kaemmerer, 1901).
- HIESTAND, Rudolf, "König Balduin und sein Tanzbär", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 70 (1988), 343-60.
- MAYER, Hans Eberhard, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, n.s. 5 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1984)
- MURRAY, Alan V., "Daimbert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem", in *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, pp. 81-102.
- WOLFF, Alfred, *König Balduin I. von Jerusalem* (Königsberg: R. Leupold, 1884).

##### 4.3.3. BOHEMOND

- GADOLIN, Anitra R., "Prince Bohemund's death and apotheosis in the church of San Sabino, Canosa di Puglia", *Byzantion* 52 (1982), 124-53.
- McQUEEN, William B., "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium, 1071-1112", *Byzantion* 56 (1986), 427-76.
- RÖSCH, Gerhard, "Der 'Kreuzzug' Bohemunds gegen Dyrrhachium 1107/1108 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts", *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 26 (1984), 181-90.

- ROWE, John Gordon, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine empire", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49 (1966), 165-202.
- YEWDALÉ, Ralph B., *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton: n.p., 1924).  
*See also* Oehler (2.1.7), Baldwin (2.2), Shepard 1988 (5.4), Rice (5.5.1), Asbridge 1997 (5.6)

#### 4.3.4. EUSTACE OF BOULOGNE

- ROUND, J. Horace, "The counts of Boulogne as English lords", in ROUND, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (Westminster: Constable, 1901), pp. 147-80.
- TANNER, Heather J., "The expansion of the power and influence of the counts of Boulogne under Eustace II", in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XIV: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1991*, ed. Marjorie CHIBNALL (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1992), pp. 251-86.

#### 4.3.5. GODFREY OF BOUILLON

- ANDRESSOHN, John C., *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Indiana University Publications, Social Sciences Series 5 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1947).
- AUBÉ, Pierre, *Godefroy de Bouillon* (Paris: Fayard, 1985).
- DESPY, Georges, "La date de l'accession de Godefroid de Bouillon au duché de Basse-Lotharingie", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 36 (1958), 1275-84.
- DESPY, Georges, "Godefroid de Bouillon, mythes et réalités", *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, ser.5, 71 (1985), 249-75.
- FRANCE, John, "The election and title of Godfrey de Bouillon", *Canadian Journal of History* 18 (1983), 321-29.
- DORCHY, H., "Godefroid de Bouillon, duc de Basse-Lotharingie", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 26 (1948), 961-99.
- HAGSPIEL, Gereon, *Die Führerpersönlichkeit im Kreuzzug*, Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 10 (Zürich: Fretz und Wasmuth, 1963).
- LOBET, Marcel, *Godefroid de Bouillon: Essai de biographie antilégitime* (Bruxelles: Les Escrits, 1943).
- MENZEL, Michael, "Gottfried von Bouillon und Kaiser Heraclius", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74 (1992), 1-21.
- La Maison d'Ardenne, Xe-XIe siècles: Actes des Journées Lotharingiennes, 24-26 octobre 1980, Centre Universitaire, Luxembourg = Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg* 95 (1981), 1-321.

- MOELLER, Charles, "Godefroid de Bouillon et l'avouerie du Saint-Sépulcre", in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth: Recueil de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire, à la philologie et à l'archéologie*, 2 vols (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1908), 1: 173-83..
- MURRAY, Alan V., "The title of Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler of Jerusalem", *Collegium Mediaevale: Interdisciplinary Journal of Medieval Research* 3 (1990), 163-78.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "The title of Godfrey of Bouillon", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52 (1979), 83-86.
- VANDERLINDEN, Herman, "La date de la nomination de Godefroid de Bouillon comme duc de Lotharingie (1087)", *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 90 (1926), 189-92.
- WAEGER, Gerhart, *Gottfried von Bouillon in der Historiographie* (Zürich: Fretz und Wasmuth, 1969).
- See also Murray 1992 (4.2), Murray 1997 (4.3.2), Mayer 1984 (4.3.2)

#### 4.3.6. HUGH OF VERMANDOIS

- BULL, Marcus, "The Capetian monarchy and the early crusade movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 50 (1996), 25-46.

#### 4.3.7. PETER THE HERMIT

- BLAKE, Ernest O.; MORRIS, Colin, "A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade", *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), 79-107.
- COUPE, Michael D., "Peter the Hermit - a re-assessment", *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987), 37-45.
- FLORI, Jean, "Des chroniques à l'épopée ... ou bien l'inverse (à propos du Picard Pierre l'Ermite)", *Perspectives médiévales*, 20 (1994), 36-44.
- FLORI, Jean, "Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Hermitte? (une réévaluation des sources de la Première Croisade)", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995), 35-54.
- FLORI, Jean, *Pierre l'Ermite et sa croisade* (Paris: Fayard, forthcoming).
- FLORI, Jean, "Pierre l'Ermite et sa croisade - légende et vérité", *Cahiers de Clío* 125-26 (1996), 29-39.
- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich, *Peter der Eremit: ein kritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1879).
- HAGENMEYER, Heinrich, *Le Vrai et le faux sur Pierre l'Hermitte* (Paris: Société Bibliographique, 1883).
- LE FEBVRE, Yves, *Pierre l'Ermite et la croisade*, Les Grandes heures de l'histoire (Amiens: Malfère, 1946).

MORRIS, Colin, "Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 21-34.  
 See also Youssef 1991 (5.1)

#### 4.3.8. RAYMOND OF SAINT-GILLES

DUPONT, André, "Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles et son rôle en Orient pendant la Première Croisade (1096-1099)", *Bulletin des séances de l'Académie de Nîmes* n.s. 47 (1970), 19-21, 24-26.  
 HILL, John H.; HILL, Laurita L., *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962).  
 HILL, John H.; HILL, Laurita L., *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles 1041 (ou 1042) - 1105*, Bibliothèque meridionale, ser. 2, 35 (Toulouse: Privat, 1959).  
 HILL, John H.; HILL, Laurita L., "Justification historique du titre de Raymond de St Gilles 'Christiane milicie excellentissimus princeps'", *Annales du Midi* 66 (1954), 101-12.  
 RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "Raymond IV of St Gilles, Achard of Arles and the conquest of Lebanon", in *The Crusades and Their Sources*, forthcoming.  
 See also Hill 1951 (5.4), Hill and Hill 1952-53 (5.4), Asbridge 1997 (5.6)

#### 4.3.9. ROBERT OF FLANDERS

DE HEMPTINNE, Thérèse, "Les épouses des croisés et pèlerins flamands aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: l'exemple des comtesses de Flandre Clémence et Sibylle", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 83-95.  
 KNAPPEN, Marshall M., "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade", in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, pp. 79-100.

#### 4.3.10. ROBERT OF NORMANDY

DAVID, Charles W., *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy*, Harvard Historical Studies, 25 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920) [includes a prosopographical appendix of Robert's companions on crusade].  
 DAVIS, R. H. C., "William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose and the Norman succession", *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), 597-606.  
 GRILLO, Peter R., "The 'fin de Robert de Normandie' episode in London, British Library, MS Add.36615", *Medium Ævum* 61 (1992), 35-47.  
 LE PATOUREL, John H., "The Norman succession, 996-1135", *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), 225-50.

## 4.3.11. STEPHEN OF BLOIS

BRUNDAGE, James A., "An errant crusader: Stephen of Blois", *Traditio* 16 (1960), 380-95.

LUCHITSKAYA, Svetlana, "Семя крестоносца: Сиприжеский конфликт в начале XII века", in *Человек в кругу семьи: Очерки по истории частной жизни в Европе до начала Нового Времени*, ed. Yurii BESSMERTNYI (Moskva: Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Gumanitarnyi Universitet, 1996), pp. 135-56.

ROUSSET, Paul, "Etienne de Blois, croisé fuyard et martyr", *Genava* n.s. 11 (1963), 183-95.

## 4.3.12. TANCRED

NICHOLSON, Robert L., *Tancred: A Study of His Career and Work in Their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).



## 5. THE COURSE OF THE CRUSADE

### 5.1. THE PEOPLE'S EXPEDITIONS (see also under 4.3.7 and 5.3)

- DUNCALF, Frederic, "The Peasants' Crusade", *American Historical Review* 26 for 1920-21 (1921), 440-53.
- WOLFF, Theodor, *Die Bauernkreuzzüge des Jahres 1096: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Tübingen: Fues'sche Buchdruckerei, 1891).
- YOUSSEF, J. N., "The battle of Nicaea between the Seldjuk Turks and Peter the Hermit, August 1096 (in the light of contemporary Latin and Byzantine sources)", in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 1986: Kongreye sunulan bildriler*, 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1991), pp. 991-99.

### 5.2. STAGES OF THE CRUSADE

- BENNETT, Matthew, "Travel and transport of the crusades", *Medieval History* 4 (1994), 91-101.
- DUNCALF, Frederic, "The First Crusade: Clermont to Constantinople", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 253-79.
- FRANCE, John, "The crisis of the First Crusade from the defeat of Kerbogha to the departure from Arqa", *Byzantion* 40 (1970), 276-308.
- FRANCE, John, "The departure of Tatikios from the army of the First Crusade", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), 131-47.
- GRGIN, Borislav, "Odjeci krizarskih radova u Hrvatskoj" [Reflections of the crusades upon medieval Croatian society], *Historijski Zbornik* 45 for 1992 (1993), 139-54.
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 280-304.
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 308-41.
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The first crusaders' journey across the Balkan Peninsula", *Byzantion* 19 (1949), 207-21.
- See also* Forse 1991 (3.1.2)

### 5.3. THE CRUSADE AND THE JEWS

- ABULAFIA, Anna Sapir, "Invectives against Christianity in the Hebrew Chronicles of the First Crusade", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 66-72.
- BAER, Yitzhak, "Rashi and the world around him", in *Jewish Intellectual History in the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph DAN (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), pp. 101-18.

- BARKENINGS, Hans-Joachim, "Sachor - reminiscere - Gedenke", in *Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen*, pp. 95-104.
- CHAZAN, Robert, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
- FABER, D.J., "Vreemdelingen in de staat Gods: De joden in historiografische teksten uit de elfde en twaalfde eeuw", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 103 (1990), 395-411 [includes discussion of the Jews as portrayed by Guibert of Nogent and Albert of Aachen].
- FLESCH, Stefan, "Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der jüdischen Gemeinde von Köln während des Ersten Kreuzzugs", in *Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen*, pp. 77-94.
- GILCHRIST, John T., "The perception of Jews in the canon law in the period of the first two crusades", *Jewish History* 3 (1988), 9-24.
- GOLB, N., "New light on the persecution of French Jews at the time of the First Crusade", in *Medieval Jewish Life: Studies from the Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, ed. R. CHAZAN (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1976), pp. 334-52.
- GOLDIN, Simha, "The socialisation for Kiddush ha-Shem among medieval Jews", *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 117-38.
- KAUFFELDT, Rolf, "1096 - Erster Kreuzzug und Judenpogrome als Zäsur in der abendländischen Geschichte", in *Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen*, pp. 105-21.
- MENTGEN, Gerd, "Die Juden des Mittelrhein-Mosel-Gebietes im Hochmittelalter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kreuzzugsverfolgungen", in *Der Erste Kreuzzug 1096 und seine Folgen*, pp. 37-75.
- MÖHRING, Hannes, "Graf Emicho und die Judenverfolgungen von 1096", *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 56 (1992), 97-111.
- NAHON, Gérard, "La communauté juive askenaze face aux persécutions des croisades d'après des chroniques hébraïques du XIIe siècle", *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des hautes-études - Ve Section* 88 (1979-80), 253-58, 90 (1981-82), 259-60.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "The First Crusade and the persecution of the Jews", *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984), 51-72.
- SCHIFFMANN, Sarah, *Heinrich IV. und die Bischöfe in ihrem Verhalten zu den deutschen Juden zur Zeit des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Berlin: Lichtwitz, 1931).
- STEMBERGER, B., "Zu den Judenverfolgungen in Deutschland (zur Zeit der ersten beiden Kreuzzüge)", *Kairos* 20 (1978), 53-72, 151-57.
- YUVAL, Israel Jacob, "Ha-naqam ve-ha-qlalah, ha-dem ve-ha-'alilah (me-'alilot qdoshim la-'alilat dam)" [Vengeance and damnation, blood and defamation: From Jewish martyrdom to blood libel accusations], *Zion* 58 (1993), 33-90.
- See also Abulafia 1982 (2.3), Cohen 1994 (2.3)

## 5.4. THE CRUSADE AND BYZANTIUM

- BELKE, K., "Phrygia between Byzantines and Seljuks", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1991), 159-65.
- CHARANIS, Peter, "Byzantium, the West and the origin of the First Crusade", *Byzantion* 19 (1949), 17-36.
- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "The Gregorian papacy, Byzantium and the First Crusade", in *Byzantium and the West c. 850-1200: Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. J. D. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), pp. 145-69.
- GANSHOF, François-Louis, "Recherche sur le lien juridique qui unissait les chefs de la Première Croisade à l'empereur byzantin", in *Mélanges offerts à M. Paul-E. Martin* (Paris: Société d'histoire et d'archéologique de Genève, 1962), pp. 49-63.
- HILL, John H., "Raymond of St. Gilles in Urban's plan of Greek and Latin friendship", *Speculum* 26 (1951), 265-76.
- HILL, John H.; HILL, Laurita L., "The convention of Alexius Comnenus and Raymond of St. Gilles", *American Historical Review* 58 (1952-53), 322-27.
- KOLIA-DERMITZAKI, A., "Die Kreuzfahrer und die Kreuzzüge im Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 41 (1991), 163-88.
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten: Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum Vierten Kreuzzug (1096-1204)*, *Poikila byzantina*, 1 (München: Fink, 1981).
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204: Studies in the Relations of Byzantine Empire with the Crusader States in Syria and Palestine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).
- LILIE, Ralph-Johannes, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten'", in *Varia I: Beiträge von Ralph-Johannes Lilie und Paul Speck*, *Poikila Byzantina*, 4 (Bonn: Habelt, 1984), pp. 121-74 [on treaties between Alexios I and the crusade leaders].
- MULLETT, Margaret, "1098 and all that: Theophylact bishop of Semnea and the Alexian reconquest of Anatolia", *Peritia* 10 for 1996 (1997), 237-52.
- MUNRO, Dana C., "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for aid at the council of Piacenza?", *American Historical Review* 27 (1922), 731-33.
- NERANTZE-BARMAZE, B., "Η Κύπρος Βασικός Σταθμός Επικοινωνίας μεταξύ Βυζαντινών και Φράγκων της Παλαιστινής το 12ο αιώνα", in *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες / Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 19-27.
- PRYOR, John H., "The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage - πιστις, δουλειά", *Parergon* n.s.2 (1984), 111-41.

- SAVVIDES, Alexis G. C., "The consolidation of Byzantine power in Cyprus on the eve of the First Crusade and the first decades of the empire's relations with the crusaders", in *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες / Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 3-18.
- SAVVIDES, Alexis G. C., "Varia Byzantinoturcica, II: Taticios the Turcopole", *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 3-4 for 1991-92 (1993), 235-38.
- SAVVIDES, Alexis G. C., "Taticios the Turcopole", in *XI. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 1990: Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1994), pp. 821-25.
- SHEPARD, Jonathan, "Cross purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 107-29.
- SHEPARD, Jonathan, "The uses of the Franks in eleventh-century Byzantium", in *Anglo-Norman Studies, XV: Proceedings of the XV Battle Conference and of the XI Colloquio Medievale of the Officina di Studi Medievali, 1992*, ed. Marjorie CHIBNALL (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993), pp. 275-305.
- SHEPARD, Jonathan, "When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 185-277.
- ZBINDEN, Nicolas, *Abendländische Ritter, Griechen und Türken im Ersten Kreuzzug (Zur Problematik ihrer Begegnung)*, Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 48 (Athen: Verlag der Byzantinisch-neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1975).
- See also Edgington 1994 (2.1.2), Skoulatos (2.1.7), Youssef 1991 (5.1), France 1971 (5.2), Buisson 1985 (5.6)

## 5.5. INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS

### 5.5.1. MILITARY ASPECTS

- BOWLUS, Charles R., "Tactical and strategic weaknesses of horse archers on the eve of the First Crusade", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 159-66.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "The doves of war: the part played by carrier pigeons in the crusades", in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, pp. 167-76.
- EDGINGTON, Susan B., "Medical knowledge in the crusading armies: The evidence of Albert of Aachen and others", in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm BARBER (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), pp. 320-26.
- FRANCE, John, "The First Crusade as a naval enterprise", *Mariner's Mirror* 83 (1997), 389-97.
- FRANCE, John, "Technology and the success of the First Crusade", in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries*, pp. 163-76.
- FRANCE, John, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

- HAMBLIN, William, "The Fatimid navy during the early crusades", *American Neptune* 46 (1986), 77-83.
- HERDE, Peter, "Taktiken muslimischer Heere vom ersten Kreuzzug bis 'Ain Djalut (1260) und ihre Einwirkung auf die Schlacht bei Tagliacozzo", in *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter: Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Wolfdietrich FISCHER and Jürgen SCHNEIDER, Schriftenreihe des Zentralinstituts für fränkische Landeskunde und allgemeine Regionalforschung an der Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 22 (Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1982), pp. 83-94.
- RICE, Geoffrey, "A note on the battle of Antioch, 28 June 1098: Bohemund as tactical innovator", *Parergon* 25 (1979), 3-8.
- SETTIA, Aldo A., "Un 'lombardo' alla Prima Crociata: tecnologie militari fra Occidente e Oriente", in *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità: Studi in onore di Cinzio Violante* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), pp. 843-55.
- SHATZMILLER, Maya, "The crusades and Islamic warfare - a re-evaluation", *Der Islam* 69 (1992), 247-288.
- SMAIL, Raymond C., *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, n.s. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).
- WHITE, Lynn, Jr., "The crusades and the technological thrust of the west", in *War, Technology and Society of the Middle East*, ed. V. J. PARRY and M. E. YAPP (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 97-112.
- ZAJAC, William G., "Captured property on the First Crusade", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 153-86.

### 5.5.2. DEATH AND MARTYRDOM

- COWDREY, Herbert E. J., "Martyrdom and the First Crusade", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 46-56.
- FLORI, Jean, "Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la Première Croisade", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), 121-39.
- MORRIS, Colin, "Martyrs of the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade", *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), 93-104 [argues that the crusade was instrumental in the application of the term martyr to those who died in battle against the unbeliever].
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "Death on the First Crusade", in *The End of Strife: Papers Selected from the Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée held at the University of Durham*, ed. David LOADES (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984), pp. 14-31.

## 5.5.3. THE HOLY LANCE

- CIZEK, Alexandre, "Die umstrittene Feuerprobe des Kreuzfahrers Pierre Barthelemi in der Diachronie der Wunderberichte", in *La Croisade - Réalités et fictions. Actes du Colloque d'Amiens 18-22 mars 1987*, ed. Danielle BUSCHINGER, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 503 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989), pp. 79-95.
- GIESE, Wolfgang, "Die 'lancea Domini' von Antiochia (1098/99), in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, ed. Wolfram SETZ, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 33, 6 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1988-90), 5:485-504.
- MORRIS, Colin, "Policy and visions: The case of the Holy Lance found at Antioch", in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. John GILLINGHAM and J. C. HOLT (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1984), pp. 33-45.
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The Holy Lance found at Antioch", *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), 197-205.
- See also* Rogers (5.5.4)

## 5.5.4. THE POOR (incl. the Tafurs)

- AUFFARTH, Christoph, "'Ritter' und 'Arme' auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug. Zum Problem Herrschaft und Religion, ausgehend von Raymond von Aguilers", *Saeculum* 40 (1989), 39-55.
- ROGERS, Randall, "Peter Bartholomew and the role of 'the poor' in the First Crusade", in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy REUTER (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 109-22.
- PORGES, Walter, "The clergy, the poor and the non-combatants on the First Crusade", *Speculum* 21 (1946), 1-23.
- ROUCHE, Michel, "Cannibalisme sacré chez les croisés populaires", in *La Religion populaire: Aspects du Christianisme populaire à travers l'histoire*, ed. Yves-Marie HILAIRE. (Lille: Centre interdisciplinaire d'études des religions de l'Université de Lille III, 1981), pp. 29-41.
- SUMBERG, Lewis A. M., "The 'Tafurs' and the First Crusade", *Mediaeval Studies* 21 (1959), 224-46.

## 5.5.5. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

- CUTLER, Alan, "The First Crusade and the idea of conversion", *Muslim World* 58 (1968), 155-64.

- BRUNDAGE, James A., "Prostitution, miscegenation and sexual purity in the First Crusade", in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 57-65.
- HAMILTON, Bernard, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum, 1980).
- RICHARD, Jean, "La confrérie de la croisade: à propos d'un épisode de la première croisade", in *Etudes de civilisation médiévale (IXe-XIIIe siècles): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers: CESCUM, 1974): pp. 617-22.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "The First Crusade and St. Peter", in *Outremer*, pp. 41-63.
- SIBERRY, Elizabeth, "Missionaries and crusaders, 1095-1274: Opponents or allies?", *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983), 103-10.
- VERBRUGGEN, Jan-Frans, "Vrouwen in de Eerste Kruistocht en in de heldenliederen", *Revue belge d'histoire militaire* 25 (1983), 181-90.
- See also Porges 1946 (5.5.4), Riley-Smith 1988 (5.6)

## 5.6. THE LATIN SETTLEMENTS

- AMOUROUX-MOURAD, Monique, *Le comté d'Edesse, 1098-1150*, Institut français d'archéologie du Proche Orient: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 128 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1988).
- ASBRIDGE, Thomas, "The principality of Antioch and the Jabal as-Summaq", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, pp. 142-52.
- BUISSON, Ludwig, *Erobererrecht, Vasallität und byzantinisches Staatsrecht auf dem ersten Kreuzzug* (Hamburg: Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft, 1985).
- BUISSON, Ludwig, "Heerführertum und Erobererrecht auf dem Ersten Kreuzzug", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte - Germanistische Abteilung* 112 (1995), 316-44.
- CAHEN, Claude, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Bibliothèque orientale, 1 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940)
- DAJANI-SHAKEEL, Hadia, "Diplomatic relations between Muslim and Frankish rulers, 1097-1153 A.D.", in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, pp. 190-215.
- DICKERHOF, Harald, "Über die Staatsgründungen des ersten Kreuzzugs", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100 (1980), 95-130.
- HANSEN, Joseph, *Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Luxembourg: Huss, 1928).
- PRAWER, Joshua, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1972).
- RICHARD, Jean, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine, 1102-1187* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1945).
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan S. C., "The Latin clergy and the settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098-1100", *Catholic Historical Review* 74 (1988), 539-57.

**5.7. THE CRUSADE OF 1101**

- BEECH, George T., "Contemporary views of William the Troubadour, IXth duke of Aquitaine", in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neihart BULST and Jean-Philippe GENET (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 73-89.
- BEECH, George T., "The ventures of the dukes of Aquitaine into Spain and the crusader East in the early twelfth century", *Haskins Society Journal* 5 (1993), 61-75.
- CATE, James Lea, "The crusade of 1101", in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. SETTON, 1: 343-67.
- CATE, James Lea, "A gay crusader", *Byzantion* 16 for 1942-43 (1944), 503-26 [on William IX of Aquitaine].
- MULINDER, Alec, "The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Swansea, 1996).
- RIANT, P., "Un dernier triomphe d'Urbain II", *Revue des questions historiques* 34 (1883), 247-55.
- RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan, "The crusading heritage of Guy and Aimery of Lusignan" in *Η Κύπρος και οι Σταυροφορίες / Cyprus and the Crusades*, pp. 31-45 [includes discussion of Hugh VI of Lusignan].
- RUNCIMAN, Steven, "The crusades of 1101", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 1 (1951), 3-12.
- See also* Mulinder 1997 (2.1.2)



## Index

- Aachen, 64, 94  
Abaqa, Il-Khan of Persia, 19  
ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī,  
theologian, 116  
ʿAbd Allah al-Armīnī *see* al-Armīnī  
ʿAbd Allah of Funduq, shaykh, 106,  
115  
ʿAbd Allah of Salmiyya, shaykh,  
115  
ʿAbd al-Mālik, son of shaykh, 115  
ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Maqdisī, imam,  
116n  
Abraham, prophet, 116, 259  
Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Jarāda,  
teacher, 114  
Abū al-Ḥasan, shaykh, 109  
Abu’l Khayr, 120  
Abū Najm ibn Khalīl al-Harithi,  
shaykh, 106n  
Abū Shamah, historian, 121n  
Abū Tahir, 115  
Abū ʿUmar, shaykh, 116  
Achaia, 158, 174, 176, 182, 184,  
186 (fig.)  
Acre, 12, 14, 18-20, 84, 121, 125,  
131, 136, 188, 265; Dominican  
scholars, 138n; fall (1291), 22,  
**133-34**, 136, **141-50**, 192, 196;  
Franciscan *studium*, 132, **135-39**;  
Jewish scholars, **132-34**, 139  
Adam of Bremen, 231n  
Adam, biblical figure, 252  
Adam, monk of Fountains, 224  
Adana, 262  
Adelaide, wife of Baldwin I of  
Jerusalem, 263  
Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, 5, 59,  
60, 164, 165  
Adriatic Sea, 159, 164, 167n, 168  
*advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*, 82-83  
Aegean Sea, 25, 174  
Aeneas, classical figure, 260  
Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, theologian,  
108n  
Aḥmad Ibn Qudāma, shaykh, 108,  
115-16  
Ahuman ibn Barizan *see* Baldwin  
of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel  
Aimery I, king of Cyprus, 195  
Aimery of Saint-Maure, Templar,  
205-6  
ʿAin Jalut, battle (1261), 131  
Akova, 177  
Akraiphnion, 184  
Akrocorinth, 181  
Alan Martel, Templar, 206  
Alan, lord of Atharib, 113  
Albania, 20  
Albara, 64, 76  
Albert of Aachen, chronicler, 29,  
31, 36, 39, **55-67**, 87, 88, 90, 91,

- 97, 98n, 222; crusade of 1101, **69-77**
- Aleppo, 113, 121, 122, 127, 263, 264
- Alps, mountains, 167
- Alexander III, pope, 7, 10, 160
- Alexander V, pope, 258n
- Alexander the Great, 163-64, 259
- Alexandria, 21, 25
- Alexios I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor, 4-7, 32, 33, 40, 74, 87, 169, 263
- Alexios, Cypriot leader, 198
- Almoravids, 7
- Amalric, king of Jerusalem, 10, 11, 87, 120, 264, 265
- Amazons, 231n, 232
- Amblard of Saint-Romain, Templar, 206, 207n
- Amiens, 44
- Anatolia, 14; *see also* Asia Minor
- al-Andalus, 169
- Andravida, 178
- Andrew, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, 162
- Androusa, 180, 181
- Angers, 52; bishops, 49, 51; cathedral school, 47, 50; monastery of St Nicholas, 46n, 48, 49; visit of Urban II, 43, 48, 50
- Anjou, 45, 180; *see also* Fulk
- Ankara, 74
- Anna Komnene, historian, 35, 70, 76
- Anonymous of Fleury, 35
- Anselm of Ribemont, 36
- Antichrist, 135
- Antioch: siege (1097-98), 5, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 55, 163, 262; battles (1098), 31, 38, 72, 74, 75, 76; crusade of 1101, 71; Bridge Gate, 36; cathedral, 38; Mahommeries Tower, 36; patriarchs, 38
- Antioch (principality), 6, 9, 17, 32-34, 37, 40, 82, 127, 262, 264
- Antivari, 164
- Antwerp, 8
- Apocalypse *see* Bible
- Apulia, 162
- Aquileia, 164, 167n
- Aquitaine, 71, 72, 74, 76, 213n
- Arabia, 24
- Aragon, 19, 20, 21, 132, 180
- Arbrissel, 45
- Archa *see* Arqa
- Ardennes, mountains, 92, 97
- Argos, 176, 181
- Aristodije, inhabitant of Zara, 162
- Arkadia, 176, 177
- Armenia, Armenians, 3, 18, 24, 87
- al-Armīnī, shaykh, 112, 113
- Arnulf III, count of Flanders, 95
- Arnulf of Chocques, patriarch of Jerusalem, 61
- Arqa, 6, 38, 64
- Arsenius, monk, 144
- Arsuf, 90, 263
- Arthur, king, 251n
- Arverduis Tudebodus, 33
- Ascalon, 9, 74, 84, 109, 112; battle (1099), 7
- al-Asharaf Khalīl, sultan of Egypt, 141
- Asia Minor, 5, 7, 63, 70-72, 76, 168, 176
- Assassins, 121
- Assises de Jérusalem*, 9

- Atharib, 113  
 al-Atharibi *see* Ḥamdān al-Athāribī  
 Assyria, 136, 137  
 Athens, 181, 183, 184  
 Augustine of Hippo, saint, 147, 150  
 Augustinian canons, 48, 53  
 Aumale, counts, 224, 228, 261n  
 Austria, 265  
 Autremencourt family, 184  
 Avarinos *see* Navarino  
 Avars, people, 159  
 Ayyubids, dynasty 12, 15, 134,  
     141; *see also* Saladin  
 al-Azrak, 124-25  
 Babylon, 137, 146, 147, 150  
 Baghdad, 108n  
 Baisy, 92-94  
 Baldric of Dol, chronicler, 33, 34,  
     46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58, 221  
 Baldwin VI, count of Flanders, 95  
 Baldwin II, count of Hainaut, 89,  
     95, 261n  
 Baldwin IV, count of Hainaut, 95n  
 Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, 95n  
 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, 59,  
     216; before crusade, 91, **92-97**; on  
     crusade, 261-62; as count of  
     Edessa, 6, 59, 81-82, 86, 87, 101-  
     2, 261; as king, 8, 75, 82, **97-99**;  
     chancery, 90; title, 9, 98n, 99;  
     death, 64, 263  
 Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, 85n,  
     87, 89, 91, 261n, 263-64  
 Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, 87,  
     264  
 Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem,  
     **119-30**, 265  
 Baldwin V, king of Jerusalem, 265  
 Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel,  
     105  
 Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Ramla,  
     127  
 Balian of Ibelin, lord of Nablus,  
     105n, 127  
 Balkans, mountains, 25, 31, 34, 38,  
     156, 158, 164, 166, 167, 171  
     (fig.), 173  
 Banyas, 123  
 Bar, 166-67  
 Barcelona, 21, 132  
 Bari, 167n  
 Barons' War in England, 211  
 Barsauma, Chaldean cleric, 20  
 Bartholomew of Neocastro,  
     historian, 143-44  
 Basilian order, 144  
 Basilicata (Greece) *see* Vassilika  
 Baspal, 213  
 Bavaria, Bavarians, 71-72, 74, 76  
 Batz, 213n  
 Baybars I, sultan of Egypt, 18, 20  
 Beaufort (Greece) *see* Leutron  
 Beauvoir *see* Pondikos  
 Becket *see* Thomas Becket  
 Beirut, 75, 76, 84, 125, 141, 263  
 Beka'a, 121  
 Béla III, king of Hungary, 161  
 Belgrade, 167n  
 Belial, 239  
 Benedictine order, 122, 238n  
 Berkyaruk, Seljuk sultan, 262  
 Belvoir (Palestine), 193-94  
 Bernard of Clairvaux, saint, 224  
 Bernard of Tiron, 44, 45  
 Bernard, archbishop of Split, 162  
 Bernold of Konstanz, 4n  
 Bethlehem, 82, 84, 99  
 Bias, 213n

- Bible, 64, 132, 137, 165, 183, 220, 257, 259; Genesis, 134, 137; Leviticus, 133-34; 1 Samuel, 237-38; Psalms, 64, 229, 237; Proverbs, 235; Lamentations, 144; Joel, 237; Judith, 233, 237; Maccabees, 234; Luke, 185; Acts, 239; 1 John, 234; Revelation, 52, 146-47, 150
- Bilino Polje, council (1203), 162
- Bingham, 226, 227
- al-Bira, 112
- Blata, lake, 161n
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, author, 141-42
- Bodin, prince of Dioclea, 166, 167n
- Boeotia, 174, 180, 182
- Bogomils, 156
- Bohemond I, prince of Antioch, 6, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 64, 82, 83, 101, 261n, 262
- Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, 264
- Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, 124, 127
- Boniface VIII, pope, 144-45
- Boniface of Montferrat, 157
- Bordeaux, 212
- Bosnia, 156, 157, 162
- Boso, cardinal, 160n, 161n, 168
- Bosra, 126
- Boston (England), 227
- Boudonitza, 182, 183
- Bouillon, 58, 59, 92, 96
- Boulogne, 91, 92, 94, 95, 216
- Brabant, 91
- Brampton Ash, 227
- Brandenburg, 239
- Branston, 227
- Brienne *see* John of Brienne *and* Walter II of Brienne
- Brindisi, 167
- Brittany, 45, 46n, 47
- Brothers of the Sword *see* Sword Brothers
- Bruno, bishop of Olomouc, 21
- Bucelet *see* Oreklovon
- Buckland, 208-9
- Budapest, 162
- Buffavento, 190-91, 196, 198
- Bulgaria, Bulgars, 168, 169
- Burchard of Mount Zion, pilgrim, 23, 131
- Burgundy, Burgundians, 10, 14n, 18, 71, 124
- Byzantium: and First Crusade, 3-6, 61, 263; and Second Crusade, 8; and later (planned) crusades, 19-20, 22; castles, 173, 176, 177, 192, 193, 195; and Cyprus, 189-90, 194, 196; and Dalmatia, 159, 161, 164-66; and Egypt, 121-22; and Frankish Greece, 174, 176, 177; in historical exegesis, 134; 137-38; and Ottomans, 25; *see also* Alexios I, Constantinople, Manuel I *and* Michael VIII
- Caesarea, 84, 263
- Caesarius of Heisterbach, author, 147
- Cairo, 9, 24, 86, 101, 121
- Calixtus II, pope, 7
- Cambrai, 92
- Canaan, 168
- Canterbury, 224
- Cardinale, ship, 213
- Cassel, battle (1071), 95
- Catalan Company, 181

- Cathars, 157, 162  
 Catherine of Alexandria, saint, 122  
 Chalandritza, 177  
 Chalkis, 175  
 Champagne, 164  
*Chanson d'Antioche*, 57, 163, 168  
 Charlemagne, emperor, 159, 167, 260  
 Charles the Good, count of Flanders, 95n  
 Charles VI, king of France, 255, 257  
 Charles VII, king of France, 255, 257  
 Charles I, king of Sicily, 20  
 Charles II, king of Sicily, 22, 145  
 Chartres, 44  
 Chastellet, 123  
 Chastelneuf, 179  
 Château Pelerin, 141  
 Châtel Arnoul, 9  
 Chelmno *see* Kulm  
 Chiny, 96  
 Chios, 190, 196  
 Chlemoutsi, 178, 179, 180  
 Christburg, treaty (1249), 246n  
 Chronicle of the Morea, 155n, 175, 176, 177, 179  
 Cilicia, 19, 22, 263  
 Cistercian order, 224, 228, 238n  
 Clement I, pope, 135  
 Clement IV, pope, 18  
 Clement V, pope, 24  
 Clermont (Greece) *see* Chlemoutsi  
 Clermont-Ferrand, council (1095), 4, 38, 43, 44, 51, 53, 93, 219-21  
 Comnena *see* Anna Komnene  
 Cologne, archbishops, 211  
 Comneni *see* Alexios I, Anna, Isaac *and* Manuel  
 Cono, count of Montaignu, 89, 97  
 Conrad III, king of Germany, 8, 97  
 Conrad of Montferrat, 189  
 Conrad von Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt, 154  
 Constance, wife of Bohemond I, 262  
 Constantine the Great, emperor, 137, 144  
 Constantine Bodin *see* Bodin  
 Constantinople, 12-13, 19, 190; First Crusade, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 59, 122, 166, 261; Crusade of 1101, 70-71; capture (1261), 19; *and* Charlemagne, 167; Sancti Argenti, 38  
 Constantinople (Latin empire), 19, 153, 174, 179, 184  
 Corfu, 156, 167  
 Corinth, 176  
 Cornwall, 212  
 Coron *see* Korone  
 Councils *see* Bilino Polje, Clermont-Ferrand, Lateran, Lyons, Piacenza, Saint-Félix-de-Caraman *and* Split  
 Couronia, 235  
 Craon, 45, 47, 48, 50  
 Crete, 158, 198  
 Croatia, 154, 159-61  
 Cross *see* True Cross  
 Crusades: First, 3-6, 14, **29-41**, **43-53**, **55-67**, 72-76, 89, 91, 92-94, 96-97, 153, 164-66, 168-69, 181, 220-21, 222, 223, 251, 260, 261-63; of 1101, 7, **69-77**; Second, 8-9, 95n, 167n, 221, 266; Third, 11-12, 14-15, 187-89, 192, 193, 198,

- 214, 217, 225, 228, 231n, 236, 265-66; Fourth, 12-15, **154-57**, **169-70**, 189, 266; Fifth, 12-13, 15-17, 194, 196, 225, 260, 266; Louis IX of France, 15-18, 119; Edward I of England, 18, 19-20, 136n; Peter I of Cyprus, 25; Baltic, **229-48**
- Cumans, people, 168-69
- Cyclades, 158
- Cyprus, 15, 20, 21, **187-99**; revolts (1191-92), 188, 195, 197, 198; invasion (1426), 198; castles, 23, **190-99**; kings, 22, 24, 25, 145, 147, 195, 196-98
- Cyzikos, 176
- Daimbert of Pisa, patriarch of Jerusalem, 35, 61, **82-88**, **97-102**
- Dajayna, 109, 111
- Dalmatia, **154-69**, 171 (fig.)
- Damalioch, priest, 45
- Damascus, 9, 10, 16, 20, 104, 105, 108, 109, 116, 119, 121, 123-26, 127, 128
- Damietta, 15, 16
- Dante Alighieri, poet, 145
- Darbsak, 208
- Dartmouth, 214
- Daugava *see* Dūna
- David, biblical figure, 259
- De excidio urbis Acconis*, 144
- Dead Sea, 124
- Denmark, Danes, 8, 247
- Devil, 239, 247; *see also* Satan
- al-Dhahabi, author, 109, 112
- Dioclea, 166
- Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, author, **104-17**
- Dominican order, 22, 132, 138n, 147
- domus Godefridi*, 81-82, 89-91
- Dorylaeum, battle (1097), 34, 163
- Drava, river, 159
- Dubrovnik, 164
- Dudo, lord of Cons-la-Grandville, 89
- Dūna, river, 235
- Durazzo, 156, 165, 166, 168, 170
- Dvina *see* Dūna
- Dyrrachium *see* Durazzo
- Edessa, 6, 8n, 9, 56, 59, 87, 261, 263, 264
- Edward de Halestre, 227
- Edward I, king of England, 18-20, 204, 207, 208, 218
- Egypt, 7, 8, 10, 12-17, 19, 22-24, 45, 110n, 121, 122, 124-26, 128, 194, 263, 266
- Eilat, 124, 126, 128
- Ekkehard of Aura, historian, 35, 70, 71, 72, 76
- Elbe, river, 154, 169
- Elbing, 229-30, 233, 234n, 235, 236, 237
- Elis, 178, 182
- Emma Bunting, 227
- Emma, Estonian woman, 240-41
- England, 8, 19, 188, 189; crusading vows, **219-28**; military orders, **203-18**; Norman Conquest (1066), 197
- Epiros, 20, 158, 174
- Emoul, chronicler, 14n, 129
- Escorta, 180
- Essex, 205, 206
- Estonia, Estonians, **229-48**
- Ethiopia, Ethiopians, 74
- Euboea, 174, 175, 183, 184

- Eugenius III, pope, 7, 224
- Eustace II, count of Boulogne, 91
- Eustace III, count of Boulogne, 86, 88, 89, **91-94**, 216, 261, 262
- Evesham, battle (1265), 208
- Excidio urbis Acconis* see *De excidio urbis Acconis*
- al-Fāḍil, secretary to Saladin, 124n
- Famagusta, 23, 192-93, 195, 196
- Felix Faber, 147
- Ferrando of Mallorca, claimant to Achaia, 182
- Fidenzio of Padua, Franciscan, 22, **135-39**
- Firouz see Pirrus
- Flanders, 8, 10, 94, 95, 212; see also Baldwin, Philip and Thierry
- Fleury, 35
- Foglietta, Uberto, historian, 147
- Fontevrault, 45, 46n, 52, 53
- Forbelet (Le), 125
- Forbie, 16
- Foulques see Fulk
- Fountains (England), 224
- Fowey, 212
- Francis of Assisi, saint, 139
- Franciscan order, 132, **135-39**
- Frank of Bresne, 214
- Frederick I Barbarossa, Holy Roman emperor, 211
- Frederick II, Holy Roman emperor, 13, 16, 17, 24, 191, 193, 197
- Frisia, 8
- Frutolf of Michelsberg, chronicler, 70
- Fulcher of Chartres, historian, 30, 35, 55, 56, 57, 70, 72-76, 82, 83, 165, 220
- Fulk, brother of Robert of Arbrissel, 46n
- Fulk le Rechin, count of Anjou, 46, 48, 49, 50
- Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, 89, 264
- Fulk of Mateflon, 46
- Fulk of Neuilly, preacher, 13n
- Fulk of Villaret, 22
- Funduq, 111
- Galilee, 23, 84, 125, 126, 127, 128
- Galindians, people, 243
- Gangra, 28
- Gardiki, 179, 182
- Gascony, Gascons, 165, **213-15**
- Gaston, lord of Béarn, 31
- Gastria, 194
- Gaufridus Grossus, 45
- Gazan, Mongol khan, 20
- Genappe, 94
- Genoa, 22, 190, 196, 197
- Geoffrey de Villehardouin, historian, **153-57**, 163, **169-70**
- Geoffrey I de Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, 176, 177, 179
- Geoffrey Gundein, 213n
- Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, 48, 50
- Geoffrey of Mayenne, bishop of Angers, 51
- Geoffrey of Sergines, 18
- Geoffrey of Vendôme, 50
- Geoffrey the Almoner, Templar, 206, 217-18
- Geraki, 177, 181
- Gerard of Avesnes, lord of Hebron, 90
- Gerard of Roussillon, 261n
- Gesta Francorum*, **29-41**, 42 (fig.), 55, 57, 58, 73, 76, 164, 166

- Gibbon, Edward, historian, 148-49  
 Gilbert de Mora, 226  
 Giustiniani, Agostino, historian, 147  
 Glarentza, 178, 180  
 Godechilde of Tosny, wife of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 92  
 Godfrey II (the Bearded), count of Verdun, 91  
 Godfrey III (the Hunchback), duke of Lower Lotharingia, 92, 95  
 Godfrey of Bouillon, ruler of Jerusalem, 7, 35, 40, 41, 55, 58, 59, **81-101**, 216, 251, 260, 261-63  
 Godfrey of Esch-sur-la-Sûre, knight, 97  
 Gomorra, biblical site, 135  
 Gorze, abbey, 93  
 Gozelo of Montaigu, 89  
 Graindor of Douai, poet, 163  
 Great Schism, 254  
 Gregory VII, pope, 3, 46, 101-2, 167  
 Gregory X, pope, 20, 21, 135-36, 226  
 Grez-Doiceau, 91  
 Gritsena, 177  
 Guibert of Nogent, chronicler, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45, 57, 220  
 Guibert of Ravenna, antipope, 167  
 Gunter, knight, 90  
 Gunther of Pairis, historian, 154-55  
 Guy de Creoun, 223  
 Guy de Nivelet, 177  
 Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, 14, 124, 127, 128, 189, 192, 192, 265  
 Guy the Constable, 36  
 Guy, abbot of Vaux-de-Cernay, 156  
 Gvozd, mountain, 159  
 Habis Jaldak, fortress, 125, 126  
*Hadith*, 108  
 Haifa, 141  
 Hainaut, 90, 95; *see also* Baldwin  
 Halberstadt, 154  
 Halmyros, battle (1311), 181  
 Ḥamdān al-Athārībī, author, 113  
 Hanbalites, **104-17**  
 Harold II, king of England, 260  
 Harran, 9, 71  
 Hattin, battle (1187), 11, 122  
 Haython of Gorhogos, author, 24  
 Hebron, 84, 90  
 Helena, saint, 137  
 Helias son of Hervus of Bicker, 224  
 Helvis of Ramla, 105n  
 Henry IV, Holy Roman emperor, 59, 95, 102, 263  
 Henry VI, Holy Roman emperor, 12, 94  
 Henry, emperor of Constantinople, 182  
 Henry I, king of Cyprus, 191  
 Henry II, king of Cyprus, 22, 145  
 Henry I, king of England, 204, 205, 223  
 Henry II, king of England, 205, 210-11, 216, 218  
 Henry III, king of England, 206, 207, 208, 209, **212-17**  
 Henry IV, king of England, 254  
 Henry of Esch-sur-la-Sûre, knight, 89, 97  
 Henry of Livonia, historian, 234, 237, 238, 246  
 Henry Vintner, 227  
 Henry, count of Grez, 91  
 Heraclea, 73, 74



- Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 158  
 Hercegovina, 157n  
 Heribrand of Bouillon, knight, 97  
 hermits, 45-48, 50-53  
 Herod, king of Judaea, 259  
*hijra*, 115, 116  
 Hilary, convert, 38  
*Historia Belli Sacri*, chronicle, 33,  
 34, 36, 37-38  
 Holderness, 224  
 Holland (England), 223  
 Holofernes, biblical figure, 233,  
 237  
 Holy Lance, 59-61  
 Honorius III, pope, 180n, 194  
 Hospitallers, order, 18, 143, 145,  
 147, 182, 194, 266; in England,  
**203-18**; nuns, 208-9  
 Hubert son of Reginald, 223  
 Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy, 18,  
 124  
 Hugh I, king of Cyprus, 195  
 Hugh II, count of Saint-Pol, 261n  
 Hugh, count of Vermandois, 261n  
 Hugh de Bruyere, 177  
 Hugh de Charpigny *see* Hugh de  
 Lille  
 Hugh de Lille, 177  
 Hugh son of Emma, 227  
 Hugh Travers, villein, 222  
 Hulegu, Il-Khan of Persia, 17, 19  
 Humbert of Romans, author, 21  
 Humphrey II, lord of Toron, 121,  
 123  
 Hungary, Hungarians, 44, 62, 155,  
 156, 157, 161, 166, 167, 169-70,  
 244-45  
 Ibelin family, 127, 128, 191, 193,  
 197  
 Ibn al-ʿAdim, author, 113  
 Ibn al-Athīr, historian, 121n, 231n  
 Ibn Jubayr, author, 104, 114, 115  
 Ibn Shaddad, vizier, 122  
 Iconium, 74  
 Ida of Bouillon, 91-94  
 Idumea, 264  
 Ilghāzī, ruler of Mardin, 264n  
 Illyria/Illyricum, 158, 163  
 ʿImād al-Dīn, author, 107, 231n,  
 236  
 Imre, king of Hungary, 161-62  
 India, 22  
 Innocent III, pope, 12, 13, 24, 157,  
 162, 182, 221, 224, 260  
 Innocent IV, pope, 16, 222  
 Investiture Contest, 59, 98, 101-2  
 Iraq, 126  
 Ireland, 182  
 Isaac Komnenos, ruler of Cyprus,  
 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 198  
 Isabel of Jerusalem, 128  
 Isabelle de Villehardouin, 179  
 Isard de Montegisard, Hospitaller,  
 218  
 Ishmaelites, 132-33  
 Isidore of Seville, saint, 158  
 Isoard, count of Die, 261n  
 Israel, **132-39**  
 Istria, 154, 164, 168  
 Ivo, bishop of Chartres, 44, 47  
 Jabal Nablus *see* Nablus  
 Jacob's Ford, 123  
 Jacquemart Giélee, 217n  
 Jacques de Molay *see* James of  
 Molay  
 Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre,  
 146, 147  
 Jaffa, 8, 12, 84, 86, 100, 101; battle

- (1102), 71, 75  
 James II, king of Aragon, 19  
 James of Molay, Templar, 22  
 Japhet, biblical figure, 259  
 Jean de Joinville, historian, 14n, 119, 150  
 Jerusalem, 6-9, 12-16, 24, **85-102**, 105n, 108, 115, 122; siege (1099), 55, 56, 70, 74, 81, 227, 262-63; coup d'état (1100), 81, 99; *curia generalis* (1183), 126; fall (1187), 11, 141, 265; Fifth Crusade (1221), 15-16, 24, 266; ban on Muslim residence, 107; in Bible exegesis, 137, 144, 147, 150; St Helena, 137; Holy Sepulchre, 3, 5, 6, 8, 17, 23, 82-85, 98, 100, 101, 125, 129, 263; Jaffa Gate, 101; Jewish quarter, 132; Jewish temple, 133-34; and Monte Cassino, 37; Mount Zion, 98; patriarch's lordship, 85; patriarchs, 8n, 21, 61, **82-85**, 98, 99, 102, 129, 145-46, 147; Tower of David, 74, 81, 84, 101; True Cross, 124  
 Jerwa, 239  
 Jesuit order, 243  
 Jesus Christ, 5, 6, 11, 38, 100, 148, 238, 244, 256  
 Jews, 61-62, 132-34, 139  
*jihād*, 116  
*jinn*, 110  
 John Cassian, 46n  
 John Cleymund, 227  
 John de Neuilly, 177  
 John de Neumarché, 227  
 John, king of England, 205, 207, 208, 211, 216  
 John II, king of France, 25  
 John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, 15, 265-66  
 John IV, pope, 158  
 John X, pope, 160  
 John, archbishop of Split, 160  
 John, bishop of Poitiers, 211  
 John, bishop of Trogir, 160n  
 John le Flamenc, lord of Akraiphnion, 184  
 John le Romeyn, archbishop of York, 226  
 John of Grailly, 18  
 John of Joinville *see* Jean de Joinville  
 John Wissand, 213n  
 Jordan Cathala, Dominican, 22  
 Jordan, river, 123, 125, 194  
 Joscelin I, count of Edessa, 87, 264  
 Joscelin of Courtenay, seneschal of Jerusalem, 121  
 Joseph de Chauncy, Hospitaller, 207, 210  
 Judaea, 14, 84, 134  
 Judith, biblical figure, 233-34, 237  
 Kalamata, 176, 177  
 Kalavryta, 177  
 al-Kāmil, sultan of Egypt, 12  
 Kantara, 190-91, 196, 198  
 Karaja of Harran, 71  
 Karytaina, 177  
 Kerak, 124-25, 128, 129  
 Kerbogha, amir of Mosul, 5, 31, 72, 262  
 Khaltl, villager of Dajayna, 111, 112  
 Khurasan, 24  
 Kiliġ-Arslan I, amir of Nicaea, 71  
 Komnenoi *see* Alexios I, Anna,

- Isaac *and* Manuel  
 Knin, 161n  
 Königsberg, 231n  
 Konrad von Wallenrod, Teutonic  
   grand master, 241  
 Konya *see* Iconium  
 Koran *see* Qur'ān  
 Korone, 176, 183  
 Koundoura, battle (1205), 176, 177  
 Krestena, 183  
 Kulin, ban of Bosnia, 156, 162  
 Kulm, 236  
 Kumans *see* Cumans  
 Kurbuqa *see* Kerbogha  
 Kyparissia *see* Arkadia  
 Kyrenia, 190-91, 192, 196, 198  
 Lambert, count of Montaigu, 89  
 Lamia, 182  
 Laodicea *see* Lattakieh  
 Larissa, 182  
 Lateran council (1215), 13, 21  
 Lattakieh, 56, 88n  
 Laurence of Liège, chronicler, 96,  
   97  
 Leopold, duke of Austria, 265  
 leprosy, 49, 52, 119-20, 127, 265  
 Leutron, 178, 180  
*Liber Clementis*, 135  
*Liber Pontificalis*, 158  
 Liège, 91, 92, 95, 96  
 Lilaia, 183  
 Limassol, 192-93, 194-95  
 Lincoln, 227  
 Lincolnshire, 223, 227, 228  
 Lithuania, Lithuanians, **229-48**  
 Livadhia, 180  
 Livonia, Livonians, **229-48**  
*Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, 240-  
   41  
 Loire, river, 213n  
 Lombardy, Lombards, **71-76**, 157,  
   162, 166  
 London: Clerkenwell, 217; New  
   Temple, 207, 208, 217;  
   Westminster Abbey, 209  
 Lotharingia, Lotharingians, 59, 61,  
   66, 88, 89, **90-99**  
*Lotharingian Chronicle* (putative),  
   57-58  
 Louis VII, king of France, 8  
 Louis IX, king of France, 15-19, 24,  
   255, 260  
 Louis XI, king of France, 252  
 Louis of Burgundy, prince of  
   Achaia, 182  
 Louis of Mousson, 89  
 Louis the Debonair, 260  
 Louis, lord of Toul, 89  
 Ludolph of Sudheim, 146  
 Ludwig IV, Holy Roman emperor,  
   146n  
 Lusignan family, 24, 189, 192, 193,  
   196, 198, 265  
 Lydda, 84  
 Lyons, council (1274), 20, 21, 135,  
   136, 138  
 Ma'ar Bunīya, 114  
 al-Ma'arat al-Numan, 6, 64  
 Maan, 124  
 Maccabees, 234  
 Macedonia, 158, 163  
 Maina, 178, 180  
 Maine, 45  
 Malbork *see* Marienburg  
 Malik-Ghāzī, Danishmend amir, 71  
 Mamistra, 262  
 Mamlūks, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24,  
   131, 133, 134, 141-42, 196

- Mani, 178  
 Manolada, 182  
 Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor, 161, 165n  
 Manuscripts: Arlon, Archives de l'Etat Saint-Hubert 10.A.4, 93; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 176, **255-56**, 260n; Damascus, al-Zahiriyya, Hadith 248, 105n; Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Coll.100, **251-66**; London, British Library, Add.25440, 58; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Fr.54, 257-58; Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Fr.99, **255-57**, 260, 262n; New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Library, Marston 180, 258; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr.22450, 46n  
 Mardin, 264  
 Martin of Tours, saint, 155, 264  
 Mary the Virgin, saint, 231n, 232, 233n, **244-47**  
 Matagriffon *see* Akova  
 Matej, inhabitant of Zara, 162  
 Matilda the Empress, 205  
 Matilda, queen of England, 205, 216  
 Matthew de Mons, 177  
 Matthew Paris, chronicler, 15, 206, 218  
 Matthew the Seneschal, 90  
 Meaux, abbey, 224  
 Mecca, 108, 126  
 Medina, 126  
 Melisende, queen of Jerusalem, 89, 263  
 Mersivan, battle (1101), 73, 74, 75  
 Mesara, 177  
 Mesopotamia, 9, 24  
 Messiah, 133n, 134, 139  
 Meuse, river, 92  
 Michael of Zahumlje, 90  
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, Byzantine emperor, 19, 190  
 Michael, prince of Dioclea, 167  
 Michaud, J.F., historian, 149  
 Mila, 179  
 Milo of Clermont, knight, 90  
 Mistra, 174, 178, 179, 180  
 Modon, 176, 183  
 Monemvasia, 174  
 Mongols, people, 17-20, 22-24, 131  
 Mont Gisard, 122, 130, 218n  
 Monte Cassino, abbey, 37  
 Montfaucon-en-Argonne, 96  
 Mordred, Arthurian figure, 251n  
 Morea, 20, 174, 179, 180, 183, 184  
 Morellus, secretary to Daimbert of Pisa, 87  
 al-Mu'azzam, Ayyubid, 12  
 Muḥammad, prophet, 110, 116, 138n, 148  
 Muwaffaq al-Dīn, jurist, 116  
 Nablus, 104, 105n, 107, 116; Mount Nablus, 105, **106-17**  
 Nahmanides, scholar, 132, 133-34  
 Nameda, 236  
 Namur, 96  
 Nauplia, 176  
 Navarino, 181  
 Negroponte *see* Chalkis and Euboea  
 Nevers, 71, 73  
*Nibelungenlied*, epic, 237  
 Nicaea, 55, 63, 72, 75, 163, 261  
 Niccolo Acciaïoli, 183

- Nicholas de Cnoville, canon of Southwell, 226
- Nicholas II de Saint-Omer, baili of Achaia, 181
- Nicholas III de Saint-Omer, baili of Achaia, 179n, 181
- Nicholas IV, pope, 18, 21, 23, 136
- Nicholas of Hanapes, patriarch of Jerusalem, 145-46
- Nicholas of Myra, saint, 168
- Nicolaus von Jeroschin, author, 245-46, 247
- Nicosia, 188, **192-98**
- Nikli, 177, 178
- Nikomedia, 176
- Nissim of Marseilles, scholar, 133, 136
- Nivelles, abbey of St Gertrude, 94, 97
- Nivernais, 74, 75
- Noah, biblical figure, 259
- Norbert of Xanten, saint, 44
- Normandy, Normans, 31, 92, 159
- Northamptonshire, 227
- Norway, 8
- Nottinghamshire, 222, 225, 228
- Nur al-Dīn, 10
- Nyouseau, 49n
- Odo of Châteauroux, 150
- Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, 227
- Orderic Vitalis, chronicler, 58, 70
- Oreklovon, 176
- Orguende, mother of Robert of Arbrissel, 46
- Osilians, people, 239
- Otbert, bishop of Liège, 96
- Othon de Tornay, 177
- Ottokar von Steiermark, chronicler, 144
- Ottoman empire, 25, 187
- Oultrejourdain *see* Transjordan
- Oxfordshire, 205
- P., Templar, 212
- Palaiologos *see* Michael VIII
- Pallavicini family, 184
- Panaghia, 184
- Paphos, **192-96**
- Paris, 46, 47, 150
- Parlement des Dames*, 178
- Paschal II, pope, 7, 70
- Passava, 177, 178
- Patras, 176, 177
- Pechenegs, people, 168, 169
- Pelagius, cardinal, 266
- Peloponnese, 174, 184
- Persia, Persians, 20, 163, 262
- Peter I, king of Cyprus, 25, 198
- Peter Bartholomew, pilgrim on First Crusade, 32, 41
- Peter of Dusberg, historian, **229-48**
- Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, historian, 155
- Peter the Hermit, 44, 45, 66, 261n
- Peter Thomas, legate, 197
- Peter Tudebode, historian, 31-34, 36, 37, 153, 166, 168
- Peter, lord of Dampierre, 89
- Peter, saint, 60, 102
- Philip Glenand, 213n
- Philip I, king of France, 263
- Philip IV, king of France, 22
- Philip VI, king of France, 25
- Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, 121-22
- Piacenza, council (1095), 4
- Picotin, 182
- Pierre Dubois, author, 22

- Pilenai, 242  
 Piraeus, 183  
 Pirrus, betrayer of Antioch, 36  
 Pisa, 84, 145  
 Poitiers, bishops, 211  
 Poitou, 31  
 Poland, Poles, 246  
 Pomerania, 229-30  
 Pondikos, 176  
 Popes *see* Alexander, Boniface,  
     Clement, Eugenius, Gregory,  
     John, Innocent, Nicholas, Paschal,  
     *and* Urban  
 Portsmouth, 212, 214  
 Portugal, 213, 214  
 Posdraupoti, 235-36  
 Prussia, Prussians, **229-48**  
 Puy (Le) *see* Adhémar *and*  
     Raymond of Aguilers  
 Ptolemy of Lucca, author, 145  
 Qalāwūn, sultan of Egypt, 141  
 Quilon, 22  
 Qur'ān, 108  
 Radulph of Caen, chronicler, 37,  
     38, 59, 88, 97  
 Ragusa *see* Dubrovnik  
 Rainald of Craon, 50, 51  
 Rainald Porchetum, 36  
 Rainald, count of Toul, 89  
 Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of  
     Cologne, 211  
 Ralph II, lord of Tosny, 92  
 Ralph of Montpinçon, knight, 90  
 Ralph of Mousson, knight, 90  
 Ralph, Hospitaller, 210  
 Rambault, count of Orange, 261n  
 Ramla, 84, 105, 108, 263; battle  
     (1102), 71, 73  
 Raoul de Tabarie, 182  
 Raska, district, 159  
 Ravennika, 182  
 Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of  
     Toulouse, 6, 7, 31-34, 40, 41, 59-  
     61, 64, 74, 165, 166, 167n, 261n,  
     262  
 Raymond III, count of Tripoli, 120,  
     124, **126-129**  
 Raymond of Aguilers, historian, 30-  
     35, 37, 55, 153, 164-66, 168-69  
 Raymond Pilet, 60  
 Raymond Stephen, missionary, 22  
 Reginald of Bernivall, 213-14  
 Red Sea, 126  
 Reims *see* Rheims  
 Rennes, 45; bishops, 47, 49  
 Retford, 226  
 Reynald of Châtillon, lord of  
     Transjordan, 9, 121, 122, 126  
 Rheims, 92  
 Rhineland, 59, 61, 221  
 Ri'an, shaykh, 112  
 Richard I, king of England, 14n, 15,  
     **187-93**, 198, 214, 265, 266  
 Richard II, king of England, 215,  
     254  
 Richard of Hastings, Templar, 218  
 Richard the Pilgrim, poet, 57  
 Richard, earl of Cornwall, 16, 213  
 Richard, rector of Woodford, 227-  
     28  
 Richer, bishop of Verdun, 96  
 Richeza, abbess of Nivelles, 94n  
 Richilda, countess of Hainaut, 95,  
     231n  
 Ricoldo of Monte Croce,  
     missionary, 23, 138n  
 Ridwan, ruler of Aleppo, 38, 71  
 Riga, 235

- Robert I, count of Flanders, 4n, 95  
 Robert II, count of Flanders, 41, 75, 261n  
 Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, 223, 261n, 262  
 Robert de Berkeley, 224  
 Robert de Clari, historian, 154  
 Robert de Manneby, Hospitaller, 206  
 Robert de Quincy, 225  
 Robert de Tremolay, 177  
 Robert FitzGerard, knight, 90  
 Robert Guiscard, 101  
 Robert Hales, Hospitaller, 215  
 Robert, lord of Sablé, 50  
 Robert of Anzi, knight, 90  
 Robert of Arbrissel, preacher, **43-53**  
 Robert of Rheims *see* Robert the Monk  
 Robert of Sabloel, Templar, 214  
 Robert of Torigni, chronicler, 35  
 Robert, bishop of Lydda, 81  
 Robert, chancery official, 90  
 Robert the Monk (of Rheims), chronicler, 33, 34, 36, 37, 57, 220  
 Roche (de la), family, 184  
 Rochelle (La), 212, 213  
 Roë (La), 48-53  
 Roger I, count of Sicily  
 Roger de Lluria, mercenary, 180  
 Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, 225  
 Roger of Barneville, 36  
 Roger son of Thomas, knight, 226  
 Roger the Almoner, Templar, 205-6, 211-13  
 Roger, *doux* of Dalmatia and Croatia, 161  
 Roger, regent of Antioch, 164n  
 Roman empire, 134, 136-37, 158, 173, 259-60  
 Rome, 101-2, 241, 254  
 Rotrou II, count of Perche, 261n  
 Rovies, 183  
 Ruad, island, 20  
 Russia, 247  
 St Albans, 206  
 Saint-Félix-de-Caraman, council (1167), 157n, 158n  
 Saint-Germain-de-Fly, 44  
 St Hilarion, 190-91, 196, 198  
 Saint-Hubert, abbey, 92, 93  
 St John of Jerusalem *see* Hospitallers  
 St Lazarus, order, 204  
 Saint-Omer family, 184  
 Saint-Quentin, 47  
 St Simeon, 75  
 Sablé, 50  
 Saewulf, pilgrim, 8, 167  
 Safarin, 112  
 Saffuriya, 125, 127  
 Saladin, king of Egypt, 10, 16, 17, 24, 116, 119, 120, 121, 123, **125-30**, 231n,  
 al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt, 15  
 Salona (Dalmatia), 164  
 Salona (Greece), 183  
 Sanudo, Marino, author, 145-46, 148, 149  
 Saphed, 131, 136  
 Saracens, 61, 136, 138, 145  
 Satan, 232, 233; *see also* Devil  
 Sava, river, 159  
 al-Sawiyya, 116n  
 Saxony, 10  
 Sclavonia *see* Slavonia  
 Scutari *see* Skadar

- Sensenruth, 92  
shaykhs, **106-17**  
Shepherd of Hermas, author, 183  
Shu'ayb of Ramla, shaykh, 106  
Sibylla, wife of Guy of Lusignan,  
124, 127, 189, 264, 265  
Sicard of Cremona, author, 130  
Sicily, 4, 19, 20, 21, 144, 147, 180,  
214  
Siderokastron (Thessaly), 175  
Sidon, 8, 84, 123, 141, 263  
Sigebert of Gembloux, author, 35  
Simon de Montfort, 156  
simony, 51  
Sinai, 124  
Skadar, 167  
Skorta, 177  
Slavonia, **154-70**, 171 (fig.)  
Slavonic languages, 160, 165  
Sodom, biblical site, 135, 143, 147  
Solinus, historian, 56  
Solomon, hermit, 48n, 49n  
Somerset, 208  
Southwell, 226  
Spain, 4, 7, 212, 214  
Spalato *see* Split  
Split, 161n, 162; council (925),  
160; council (928), 160  
Stamford, 227  
Staunton, 222  
Stenay, 93  
Stenimaka, 176  
Stephen, count of Aumale, 261n  
Stephen, count of Blois, 33, 71, 74,  
261n  
Stephen, count of Burgundy, 71, 74  
Stephen, king of England, 205, 216  
Stephen, patriarch of Jerusalem,  
85n  
Stephen, priest on First Crusade, 32,  
41  
Strewa, 238n  
Sudovians, people, 236  
Sufism, 108-9, 112  
Swantepolk, duke of Pomerania,  
229, 233  
Sword Brothers, order, **229-48**  
Sylvester de la Guerche, bishop of  
Rennes, 47  
Sylvester of Evesham, bishop of  
Worcester, 223  
Tancred, prince of Galilee, 36, 82,  
84, 87, 261  
Tarsus, 261, 262  
Taygetos, mountains, 178  
Templars, order, 18, 143, 147, 182;  
castles, 123, 145, 162n, 194; Fifth  
Crusade, 266; grand masters, 22;  
in Cyprus, 188, 189, 194; in  
Dalmatia, 161n, 162n; in England,  
**203-18**; in France, 215; in Greece,  
182; in Spain, 212, 214, 215  
Teutonic Knights, order, 18, 145,  
179n, 204, **229-48**  
Thames, river, 212  
Thebes, 174, 175n, 181  
Theodora, wife of Baldwin III of  
Jerusalem, 263-64  
Theoduin, bishop of Liège, 95  
Thessalonika, 184  
Thessaly, 158, 174, 175, 181, 182  
Thibaut, count of Champagne, 16  
Thierry of Alsace, count of  
Flanders, 95n  
Tholeshurst, 206  
Thomas Becket, archbishop of  
Canterbury, 205, 210-11, 218  
Thomas called Baldwin, knight,



- 226, 227  
 Thomas of Haye, 213  
 Thomas of Split, historian, 157n  
 Thomas, Templar, 212-14  
 Thorn (Prussia), 238  
 Thrace, 176  
 Tiberias, 123  
 Tomislav of Croatia, 160  
 Toron, 123  
 Tortosa, 141  
 Torun *see* Thorn  
 Toulouse, 31; *see also* Raymond of Saint-Gilles  
 Transjordan, 124, 125, 128; *see also* Reynald of Châtillon  
 Tripoli, 18, 21, 120, 127, 128, 129, 263  
 Trogir, 160n  
 Troy, 259, 260  
 True Cross, 11, 124, 125, 265  
 Tsakonia, 177  
 Tunis, 19  
 Turcopoles, 74  
 Turks, 3, 19, 25, 38, 59, 61-63, 72-75, 163, 168-69, 264  
 Tyre, 84, 114, 115, 116n, 125, 141  
 Urban II, pope, 3-5, 24, 43, 48-51, 53, 59, 70, 98, 220-21, 224, 263  
 Urban IV, pope, 18, 25  
 Urban VI, pope, 254  
 Usama ibn Munqidh, author, 104, 112  
 Uzes, people, 168-69  
 Valenciennes, 95  
 Vardounia, 178  
 Vassilika, 180  
 Veligosti, 177  
 Velika Gorica, 161n  
 Venice, 22, 155, 159, 161, 167, 168, 175, 176, 183, 192, 196, 197-98  
 Verdun, 91-92, 95  
 Vilemas, Estonian, 240-41  
 Villani, Giovanni, author, 146, 148, 149  
 Villehardouin family, 178; *see also* Geoffrey, Isabelle *and* William  
 Visconti, Theobald *see* Gregory X  
 Vitalis of Savigny, preacher, 44, 50n  
 Voltaire, author, 148  
 Vostitza, 177  
 Vrana, lake, 161n, 162n  
 Vytenis, ruler of Lithuania, 237  
 Waldemar Carpenel, knight, 90  
 Walter de Rosiere, 177  
 Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, 225  
 Walter II de Brienne, duke of Athens, 181  
 Walter of Benington, 227  
 Walter of Bouillon, knight, 97  
 Warmund, patriarch of Jerusalem, 8n  
 Warner, count of Grez, 81, 82, 86, 90, 91, 97, 99, 101, 261n  
 Welf IV, duke of Bavaria, 71, 72, 76  
 Westphalia, 8  
 Wibert *see* Guibert  
 Wicher the Swabian, knight, 90  
 Wigand von Marburg, herald, 241-44  
 Willbrand of Oldenburg, pilgrim, 193-95  
 William IX, duke of Aquitaine, 71, 72, 76  
 William II Rufus, king of England,

- 223  
 William II, count of Nevers, 71  
 William Adam, missionary, 22, 23  
 William Aleman, 177  
 William de Champlitte, prince of  
 Achaia, 176  
 William de Ferrers, 225  
 William de Hanred, 227  
 William de Morley, 177  
 William de Staunton, 222  
 William de Stuteville, 224-25, 228  
 William de Villehardouin, prince of  
 Achaia, 174, 183  
 William le Champenois *see* William  
 de Champlitte  
 William of Malmesbury, chronicler,  
 47  
 William of Modena, legate, 241  
 William of Montferrat, 265n  
 William of Tripoli, missionary, 21,  
 138n  
 William of Tyre, historian, 61, 66,  
 70, 81, **83-87**, 91, 93, **97-102**,  
 120-22, 124n, 126, 127, 129, 155,  
 164  
 William Pistor of Gedney, 224  
 William the Fat, count of Aumale,  
 224, 228  
 William, count of Forez, 261n  
 Winchester, earls, 225  
 Winrich of Flanders, knight, 90  
 Woodford, 227  
 Worcester, bishops, 222, 223, 224,  
 227  
 Worksop, 226  
 Yaghisiyan, Turkish amir, 38  
 Yarmuk, river, 126  
 Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Hādi, 105n  
 York, archbishops, 225, 226, 227  
 Zadar *see* Zara  
 Zagreb, 161n  
 Zara, **154-69**  
 Zaratoriensis, bishopric, 184  
 Zengi, ruler of Mosul, 264  
 Zenica, 162  
 Zeta *see* Dioclea